REPORT RESUMES

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STUDY OF THE MEANING, EXPERIENCE, AND EFFECTS OF THE NEIGHBORHOOD YOUTH CORPS ON NEGRO YOUTH WHO ARE SEEKING WORK. PART I, WORK ATTITUDES, SELF-IMAGE, AND THE SOCIAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL BACKGROUND OF WORK-SEEKING NEGRO YOUNG ADULTS IN NEW YORK CITY.

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INTERVIEWS AND QUESTIONNAIRES FROM 601 JOB SEEKERS AT THE HARYOU-ACT CENTER AND JOHN F. KENNEDY JOIN CENTER BETWEEN NOVEMBER 1965 AND JUNE 1966 FURNISHED DATA FOR THIS STUDY OF WORK-SEEKING NEGRO YOUTHS BETWEEN THE AGES OF 16 AND 21. SIMILAR DATA WERE COLLECTED FROM THREE CONTROL SAMPLES INCLUDING 260 MALE JUNIORS AND SENIORS AT A PREDOMINANTLY WHITE HIGH SCHOOL, 442 MALE FRESHMEN AND SOPHOMORES AT A PREDOMINANTLY WHITE COLLEGE, AND 196 NEGRO MALE COLLEGE FRESHMEN AND SOPHOMORES AT PREDOMINANTLY NEGRO HOWARD UNIVERSITY. THE JOB-SEEKING NEGRO YOUTH FROM THE GHETTO IS WELL AWARE OF THE GAPS IN HIS EDUCATION AND HIS VOCATIONAL TRAINING AND IS SEEKING WAYS TO REMEDY THESE GAPS. HE EVIDENTLY FEELS THAT THE NEW YORK CITY PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEM IS NOT A SOURCE OF REMEDY FOR THESE DEFICIENCIES. HE IS MORE LIKELY TO SEE WORK AS A MINIMAL MEANS OF SURVIVING THAN AS SOMETHING OF INTRINSIC INTEREST OR VALUE. THE LOW SELF-ESTEEM HE EXHIBITS, ESPECIALLY IN CONTRAST TO WHITE AND NEGRO MIDDLE-CLASS YOUTHS IN THE SAME AGE GROUPS, IMPAIRS HIS ABILITY TO SEEK AND HOLD JOBS, ERODES HIS COMMITMENT TO WORK, DEPRESSES HIS ASPIRATIONS TOWARD A BETTER CONDITION OF LIFE, AND CONTINUALLY PRESSES HIM TOWARD A STATE OF DESPAIR, APATHY, AND SURRENDER. NEVERTHELESS, HE APPEARS VERY LIKELY TO RESPOND TO MEANINGFUL WORK-TRAINING PROGRAMS IF THEY ARE MADE AVAILABLE TO HIM. (ET)

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STUDY OF THE MEANING, EXPERIENCE, AND EFFECTS OF THE NEIGHBORHOOD YOUTH CORPS ON NEGRO YOUTH WHO ARE SEEKING WORK

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PART I

Work Attitudes, Self-image, and the Social and Psychological Background of Work-seeking Negro Young Adults in New York City

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Preface

AN OVERVIEW OF THE FINDINGS

This section represents brief highlights of the major findings of the Phase 1 report, in terms of a composite portrait of the young Negro job-seeking applicant in New York City. In doing so, it touches only briefly or omits entirely many supporting details to be found only in the main body of the report. Its purpose is to offer a brief overview of the principal findings.

The interviews described in this report were made during the period between November 1965 and June 1966, at two Intake Centers in New York City: the HARYOU-Act Center on West 135th Street, in Central Harlem, and at the John F. Kennedy JOIN Center on Fulton Street, Brooklyn, in Bedford-Stuyvesant. All male youths between the ages of 16 and 21 coming in looking for work were interviewed. A total of 601 interviews were conducted, 167 at HARYOU, 434 at JOIN.

DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE

The Negro young man seeking employment at JOIN or HARYOU is most likely to be 17 or 18 years old (these constituted almost half the sample); he is probably a school drop-out (only 22 percent completed twelfth grade); and he has had little or no vocational training. Those who drop out of school are most likely to do so by tenth grade.

Educational Attainment and Place of Birth

It is interesting to note that if he was born in New York City he is somewhat more likely to have dropped out of school (80 percent) than if he had been born in the South (70 percent), or if he had been born in small towns with populations under 25,000 (60 percent). Though this is not necessarily an indictment of the New York City school system, it does suggest that the problems of urban life and education make it more difficult for the urban-born Negro youth to complete his high-school education.

If he was not born in New York City (just over half the respondents, 55 percent, were), he is most likely to have been born in the South, from a town of less than 25,000 in population. His parents are much more likely to have been born in the South than he; this of course reflects what is generally known about recent migrations to the urban North.

The picture of his family situation indicates a rather high degree of family impairment. He is likely to be living in a household in which one or both of his real parents are no longer present (39 percent of the respondents); only 24 percent of the respondents report living with both real parents; one-third report living with their mothers but with no father, or with a step or foster father. By the age of twelve, more than half of these latter youths were no longer living with their real fathers. Many of the households consist of composites of several impaired, broken, or foster families.

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Not only are these families damaged with respect to their structure, their economic condition is also severely impaired; almost one-third of the families have no earned income. In those households where the male head of the house is employed, his (median) income is $88 per week; the median number in the household is 3.9; where the female head of house is employed, her (median) income is $64 per week. The rate of unemployment is high. The foster mother or real mother of our composite job applicant usually works as a service or clerical worker. His father, foster father, or other male family head, when employed, is most likely to be working as a factory operative or as a maintenance or service worker.

Our applicant himself is likely to have had a rather limited job experience. About one-third of the applicants have never had a job since leaving school; the median number of jobs is 1.9. Most of this experience has been with part-time jobs. If he has had full-time job experience, the most he has ever earned is a median of $60 per week, with a median of $57 per week on his most recent full-time job.

Not only is the job applicant himself out of work, but the number of his best or close friends who are working is also very small. A substantial portion of them are either looking for work or "just hanging around" (36 percent). When our applicant has obtained a job in the past, he is much more likely to have found it through personal contacts--friends or relatives (39 percent)--or by just walking in and asking for a job (23 percent), than through more official or public sources (18 percent mentioned the State Employment Agency, only 11 percent mentioned private employment agencies). The applicant who has worked in the past, when asked what he disliked about his past jobs, referred often to the low pay, but even more to the menial and dead-end nature of the work. But, if he is asked what type of work he would like to do for the rest of his life, his response is likely to be rather realistic in terms of what might be available to him. He is very interested either in being trained or hired for jobs as skilled workers or craftsmen--as an auto mechanic, electrician, carpenter, etc.--or as a clerical worker (typist, office-machine operator). He is very unlikely to indicate unrealistic career choices such as highly trained professional or technical positions.

HIS REASONS FOR COMING TO THE JOB CENTER

The job applicant heard of the job center mostly from his friends and relatives; the mass media, such as radio, television, and newspapers, posters, etc., made very little impression on him. He is likely to have discussed his decision to apply at the center with his friends and family, who for the most part consider applying a good idea and support his efforts; not many friends or relatives consider it a poor idea or a waste of time.

The applicant is not too clear in his mind as to what the center has to offer, and is somewhat divided as to what he wants from the center. Respondents were asked whether they had come to the center primarily for a job, or whether they wanted training in some skill, or a combination of both work and training; 31 percent wanted a job for the money it would pay, 22 percent wanted a training program, but 45 percent wanted a combination of both work and training. Thus, training is very important in the applicant's mind. As mentioned above, those who want training hope for training primarily as craftsmen, or as clerical workers; very few expect training in the professions, or, it should be noted, as sales personnel. Those who expect just jobs, or a combination of job and training, expect the same kind of jobs as training, except that the youth coming in just for a job is more likely to expect that job to be of a clerical nature. Thus, expectations are generally realistic.

If the applicant thinks of a position primarily as a job, he expects a higher weekly salary (median - $63) than if he thinks of it primarily as a training position (median = $30); if he thinks of the position as a combination of both work and training, he expects a salary somewhat in between the two figures given above (median = $55).

Whatever salary he will get, the applicant for the most part intends to use the money partly to help out at home (to contribute to family income), and partly to make himself less dependent on his family for his needs for clothing, spending money, and social life.

THE APPLICANT'S HOPES FOR THE FUTURE

Respondents appear to be extremely worried about the future (76 percent admitted to worrying about future life); their principal concern is focused on their abilities to find and hold the kind of job that will enable them to marry and support their families, and to live in a more decent neighborhood (73 percent want to move to another neighborhood, the principal reasons being to find quieter, cleaner, more respectable neighborhoods which have less crime).

He has a realistic and modest idea of how much money he would need in 5 or 10 years to support a family (median weekly salary = $135) at a reasonably comfortable level, but is not very hopeful of his chances of actually earning that kind of money (only 33 percent thought they have a very good chance of earning the money they think necessary to raise two children). Furthermore, those who are fairly optimistic about earning the salary they think necessary to support a family have named a lower figure. Those who named higher figures were much less optimistic about their chances of actually earning that money in 5 to 10 years. In other words, respondents expect to be earning considerably less than the amount that they feel is necessary to marry and raise a family.

HIS ATTITUDES TOWARD WORK

Questions regarding the applicant's attitude toward work were also presented to a population of white middle-class youths in the same age group, and to Negro college students in the same age group. These questions indicate that the Negro job applicant from the ghetto is much less committed to work as a source of intrinsic satisfaction, sees work much less as possessing or serving as a source of dignity, than does the white middle-class high school or college student, or the Negro college student. He is more likely to see work as a minimal means of surviving than as something of intrinsic interest or value (52 percent of the Negro applicants agreed with the statement: "So long as I earn enough to live decently I don't care too much what kind of work I do," as against 12 percent of the white high-school students, 5 percent of the white college students, and 10 percent of the Negro college students). He is more likely to regard relief as an alternative to an unsatisfactory job than the white youth.

Those Negro youth who have more favorable work attitudes were found to express much more worry about their future than those with less favorable work attitudes and to have higher self-esteem scores. A deficient work attitude appears to be a form of surrender to hopelessness. Those youth, for example, with more favorable work attitudes among the school leavers are more anxious to return to school and complete their education than are those with lower scores; whether they will do it is not known, but their basic attitude is one of striving for self-improvement.

Those with lower work-attitude scores also were less interested in training and wanted higher pay in more immediately available jobs. They aspire to incomes that they think they cannot attain. Thus, if the Negro youth surrenders to hopelessness about his future, he is likely to seek a more immediate pay-off in the present. If he does not and holds on to his plans for long-range improvement, he is more interested in training and is more willing to accept lower initial salaries as part of his long-range plans.

THE SELF-ESTEEM OF THE NEGRO JOB APPLICANT

We have seen that the Negro youth applicant combines a sober realism with deep pessimism about his life chances. He adds to this a very low level of self-esteem. He sees himself as much less likely to be hired in a competitive job situation than do white high-school and college students, and less than Negro college students; if hired, he is less likely to see himself as able to get along with the boss than do the middle-class youths, and has a lower estimate of his ability to learn new things on a job.

Furthermore, his self-esteem in general is strikingly lower than middle-class white youths, and Negro college students. He is much more likely to agree with such statements as "I am inclined to feel that I am a failure;" "I feel I don't have much to be proud of;" "I certainly feel useless at times;" and is more likely to disagree with such statements as: "On the whole I am satisfied with myself;" "I feel that I have a number of good qualities;" "I feel that I am a person of worth;" etc.

Although the youth appears committed to work as a major life goal, this commitment may appear only on the cognitive level. One can speculate that on the performance level, the youth might lack the sustained aggressiveness necessary to seek and find a job and may prove less able to cope with what might be called the everyday level of hostility, hazing, and competition to be found in most work situations. Subsequent research will be necessary to resolve these hypotheses.

APPLICANT'S VIEW OF HIS FAMILY

Despite the data which indicates to an outsider that the Negro applicant's family structure is greatly impaired, the applicant does not see his family as a source of his problems. He does not report many arguments in his family (24 percent), and indicates that the members of his family get along with one another very well or fairly well (96 percent); they tend to spend leisure time doing things together rather than separately. Furthermore, the applicant generally feels free to ask members of his family for advice about the problems he has. He is much more likely to rely upon a female relative for advice than on a male relative, undoubtedly because there are so few older male relatives present in the family. About half the applicants report their families have some problems with respect to health, money, housing (and one in eight reported that there were a lot of these problems); and of these, about one-third report that they become involved in trying to help solve these problems, and that this involvement interferes with their ability to get or hold a job. Just over half the respondents indicate that their unemployment is a problem to their families.

AGE AND EDUCATIONAL LEVEL

It might be hypothesized that 16-year olds are less mature than 21-year olds, not only physically, but also in terms of their attitudes towards work, and towards themselves, and that accordingly a group of 16-year olds, as they grow older, would show a corresponding shift in attitudes. It was one of the surprising results of this survey that age was a negligible factor in terms of response to most questions, and especially to attitude questions; that is to say, the older respondents tended to view their occupational chances more or less in the same terms as did the younger ones.

It appears, by way of tentative explanation, that the Negro respondents are pretty much adult in their perceptions by the time they have reached 16 years of age. They have "learned the score" long before that age, and do not have the luxury of a prolonger period of overt immaturity or irresponsiblity as do white youths between 16 and 21.

In one area, age appeared to have a bearing on work attitudes; attitudes toward work were highest at age 18, as compared to 16-year olds, and higher than those at ages 20 and 21. Analysis of other data in the questionnaires suggested that this was more a matter of job experience than of age alone; the Negro youth starts out with determination to do a good job, but experience with a number of menial, low-paying, and insecure jobs quickly produces an erosion of his commitment to work.

The second surprise of the study was that the educational level of the respondents had little to do with their responses on most all questions other than those concerned with self-esteem and work attitudes. Several factors may account for this: the first is that the youth may make his basic decisions about work and schooling at a much earlier age; another is the objective factor that the Negro's life prospects may not be significantly enhanced by high-school graduation; a third is simply that the objective difference between the knowledge and skills acquired between eighth and twelfth grade is too minimal to make any difference, given the present state of public-school education in New York City. (The Negro high-school graduate is not much better off with respect to employment prospects than the Negro drop-out).

There was a strong contrast in work attitudes and self-esteem between those who graduated from high school and those who had dropped out. The data suggest that self-esteem and commitment to work do not improve as schooling goes on, but rather that those whose self-esteem and commitment to work are initially high are more likely to complete high school.

THE APPLICANT'S CONSCIOUSNESS OF RACIAL FACTORS IN UNEMPLOYMENT

Just over half the applicants indicated their belief that job opportunities have improved for Negro young people in general over the past few years. But the applicant is slightly less certain of such improvement, with respect to Negro young people *that he knows*. The applicant, furthermore, is not overwhelmingly convinced of the effectiveness of protests and demonstrations for improving job opportunities; just under half the respondents (49 percent) thought that protests and demonstrations had helped, but the remainder thought that demonstrations had either made things harder (11 percent), had not made much difference (23 percent), or they were unable to tell (16 percent).

The applicant appears to be committed to programs of education and training (80 percent) rather than to protests and demonstrations (3 percent) as more effective means of improving the Negro's job chances (10 percent thought that both training and demonstrations were the most effective). The reasons cited for preferring education and training programs were: (1) "training qualifies you for the job;" (2) "you don't learn by protests;" and (3) "protests only work if you're qualified for the job." Other responses indicated that the applicant is more concerned by his lack of substantive skills than by the racial factors of discrimination, at least on the cognitive level. Emotional responses may have been suppressed as part of the interviewing situation.

APPLICANT'S NEED FOR MORE EDUCATION

The applicant is well aware of his need for more education (two-thirds indicated their wish to return to school to complete their education), but is emphatically opposed (70 percent) to returning to the school he had left, the principal reasons cited referring to the inadequacy of the school.

THE CONTRAST BETWEEN HARLEM AND BEDFORD-STUYVESANT

Although this project was not designed as a study of the differences between two ghetto areas, the youth from Harlem appeared so strikingly different from his counterpart in Bedford-Stuyvesant that these differences became a major focus of the study.

Harlem is a much older ghetto than is the Bedford-Stuyvesant section of Brooklyn; this is reflected in different demographic traits. The Harlem youth is more likely to have been born in New York City than the Bedford-Stuyvesant youth, and is more likely to have come from the urban South, especially the South Atlantic states, while the Bedford-Stuyvesant youth and/or his parents is less likely to have been born in New York City, and reports his family origins more from the rural South, and is a bit more likely to report such South Central states as Alabama and Mississippi as the places of his parents' origins.

In general, the Bedford-Stuyvesant district is even more depressed than is the Harlem area, as indicated by the following factors as reported by these applicants: greater impairment of family structure; more respondents living without parents or foster parents; and more respondents no longer living with their mothers as early as eight years of age. The Harlem youth is more likely to report that he gets along well with his family than is the Bedford-Stuyvesant youth. The Harlem youth reports a consistently better economic picture than does the Bedford-Stuyvesant youth, better levels of employment, smaller proportions of families having no earned income, better eanred weekly incomes (Harlem median = $100 per week, Bedford-Stuyvesant $88 per week) among male heads of house, and a better job history among the youths themselves. More Brooklyn than Harlem youths have never had a full-time job; they have had fewer jobs, and have earned less money at these jobs. The Bedford-Stuyvesant youth is much more likely to report that his best friend is out of school, looking for work, or just hanging around, than is the Harlem youth, and he reports a greater and earlier rate of school drop-out for himself.

Furthermore, the Bedford-Stuyvesant youth reports a vastly lower degree of self-esteem than does the Harlem youth, with much less hope for his future, and appears much less aggressive than his Harlem counterpart with respect to civil rights issues, or his competitive chances in the job market.

The Bedford-Stuyvesant youth may convey this picture of relatively low aspiration and low aggression primarily because he has lower self-esteem, which itself may be a result of his relative isolation in a new ghetto composed of relatively more recent arrivals from the rural South.

The Harlem youth represents a longer adjustment to the urban North, and exhibits more of the sophistication, frustration, and aggressiveness that emerge from contact with a freer environment which fails to provide chances to use that freer environment in a constructive way.

It should be emphasized, however, that while the Harlem youth appears better off than his greatly more depressed counterpart in Bedford-Stuyvesant, this appears so only when compared with such an extreme case. On those questions where it was possible to compare Harlem youth with middle-class white and Negro youths in the same age groups, the Harlem youth was shown to have a vast number of impairments and deficiencies, far below the norms of American life, though not so far as the youth in the Bedford-Stuyvesant ghetto.

FACTORS ASSOCIATED WITH SELF-ESTEEM

Lowered self-esteem among job-seeking Negro youth is associated with: the youth or his parents coming from the rural South; failure to complete high school (though it is likely that those youths with lower self-esteem are more prone to leave, rather than that more schooling raises self-esteem); lack of experience with full-time jobs; experience with too many low-level full-time jobs; and a long time being both out of school and out of work.

It is not always clear which of these are causes and which are the effects of low self-esteem; but the data of the study suggest that considerable experience with menial, dead-end, low-paying jobs will confirm and reinforce initially low self-esteem and will also erode the youths' commitment to work.

High self-esteem among the Negro youths is associated with: greater worry about the future, a greater desire to complete education; aspiration to more skilled jobs, including professional, technical, clerical, and managerial jobs, lower estimates of future income needs, a greater desire to move to better neighborhoods, a willingness to accept lower starting salaries, especially for positions including training, a somewhat more activist position with respect to civil rights questions, and at the same time a greater commitment to training and education combined with protests and demonstrations as a way to produce better opportunities for young Negroes and a greater commitment to work as a means of survival and personal fulfillment.

CONCLUSIONS

The job-seeking Negro youth from the ghetto bears up under the extremely depressed socio-economic condition pictured in this report as well as he can, and still seeks to function in terms of meaningful long-range goals in his life.

He is well aware of the gaps in his education and in his vocational training, and is seeking for ways to remedy these gaps. He has evidently given up on the New York City public school system as a source of remedy for these deficiencies.

The conditions of his life generate a burden of impairments which the Negro youth is not always able to manage. The low self-esteem he exhibits, especially in contrast to white and Negro middle-class youths in the same age groups, also impairs his ability to seek and hold jobs, erodes his commitment to work, depresses his aspirations toward a better condition of life, and continually presses him toward a state of despair, apathy, and surrender.

Nevertheless, he appears very likely to respond to meaningful work-training programs if those are made available to him. Any work-training program designed for the Negro youth in the ghetto must take into account the many impairments and deficiencies he carries, and especially the problem of low self-esteem. This study does not suggest how this may be remedied, but it appears that a program that does not take this problem into account will fail to reach and assist these youth.

Chapter I

THE OVER-ALL PURPOSES AND DESIGN OF THE STUDY

This study of the work attitudes, self-images and social and psychological backgrounds of work-seeking Negro youths, is the first part of a larger study by the Center for the Study of Unemployed Youth of the New York University Graduate School of Social Work, conducted for the Office of Economic Opportunity, under contract number NY - CAP 66 - 9573, a continuation of OEO 596.

The larger study, on Work Attitudes and Performance of Participants in the Neighborhood Youth Corps in New York City, was designed to contribute to the information needs of program operators and planners through a study of 1,600 youth who applied for work at intake centers and through an intensive analysis of those assigned to the Neighborhood Youth Corps. Specifically, the purposes were to provide:

1. Systematic and verifiable knowledge about deprived youth in the following areas:
    a. Work attitudes and expectations prior to their first contact with an intake center
    b. Attitudes toward and actual performance in a Neighborhood Youth Corps
    c. Adjustment to the world of work following termination of enrollment in a Neighborhood Youth Corps
2. Feedback to the Office of Economic Opportunity, to the operators of intake centers, and to the Neighborhood Youth Corps which may be used to modify and strengthen:

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  a. Community information and recruitment programs
  b. Intake, orientation, selection and assignment procedures
  c. Program activities of the Neighborhood Youth Corps
  d. Job placement, reassignment, follow-up and counseling services

3. Recommendations for additional services which these youth may need during and following their participation in a Neighborhood Youth Corps

THE SCOPE OF THE OVER-ALL STUDY

The original proposal was designed as a "modest research effort with modest requirements and usable findings." It was hoped that research findings would be available at various points of time so that it would be possible to transfer the research experience of one identifiable segment of the project to each subsequent one.

THE SCOPE OF THE ORIGINAL STUDY

While the original study was designed to analyze the work attitudes and performance primarily, though not exclusively, of deprived youth who participate in the Neighborhood Youth Corps in New York City, a number of limitations on the scope of the study were imposed in order to achieve:

1. Economy and manageability of the research effort
2. Adequate sample sizes
3. Usable information within a comparatively short period of time

For these and similar reasons, the study was designed to be confined to Negro males between sixteen and twenty-one years of age who sought jobs or training at two job intake centers in New York City.

The over-all study was designed as a longitudinal panel study in which respondents were to be interviewed at each major step from initial intake and reception to completion of their Neighborhood Youth Corps enrollment and subsequent placement in private employment or advanced training projects or to the return of the youth to school.

It was assumed that many youths would unfortunately not be able to complete the project. Some would be declared ineligible while others would terminate voluntarily or involuntarily at different stages of the study.

Based upon these assumptions, five major stages of the study were projected.

The first phase was to include those youth who appear at reception and complete the required application forms.*

The second phase was to include those youth who:

1. Are rejected for service at reception
2. Voluntarily terminate immediately after going through reception, but prior to intake
3. Voluntarily leave after intake, but prior to joining the work project to which they were assigned

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*The study would not analyze youth who were referred by an agency to an intake center but never appeared at the reception desk. Although this is an intensely interesting problem, it would have required resources well beyond the capabilities of the present study.

4. Are rejected as ineligible or referred to specialized agencies because of severe intellectual, physical or emotional handicaps

The third phase would contain those who have completed intake, accepted a project assignment and have begun to participate in its activities.

The fourth phase would contain those who:

1. Have been involuntarily terminated during training activities, perhaps because of their disruptive behavior or because emergent personal problems not detected at intake makes reassignment or referral to a specialized agency desirable
2. Those who terminate voluntarily

In this instance, as in the second phase, it should be understood that the youth who voluntarily terminates is by no means the equivalent of a "program-failure." The latter term is appropriate to a study of the success or impact of the work and work training program. This study has no such pretentions. Voluntary termination will be understood to apply to a youth who has initiated but not completed the preliminary processes described above.

The fifth phase was to include those youth who, in the opinion of their counselor or work foreman, have completed their Corps project and receive a second assignment. A youth who is stepped up to a higher-level work project would be included in the same cluster as those who obtain private employment or return to school.

The proposed approach was based upon the clustering of youth around different stages or major activities of the work training process. The inherent modularity of the approach makes possible the transfer of knowledge and experience from one phase to other phases of the study. In addition, the comparatively self-contained character of each phase would minimize the impact of technical difficulties and schedule slippages in one phase upon the total study. Lastly, it was anticipated that the phased approach would facilitate the acquisition and analysis of relevant data.

In order to achieve the objectives of this study the principal questions for analysis were to include the following:

1. Identification of the youth in each phase
2. Comparison of the attitudes, expectations, and experiences of youth in each phase of the process
3. Description of the changes in attitudes, expectations, and behavior of youth within and between each phase from one stage to each subsequent stage
4. Identification of the principal stimuli to change at each stage of the process
5. Identification of reactions to each preceding stage of the process and of expectations regarding subsequent stages
6. Identification of the bases for major decisions made at the different stages of the process by the counselor and other professionals and by the youth himself
7. Description of the work adjustment of youth in each phase following their departure from the work program

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SUBSEQUENT MODIFICATIONS OF THE ORIGINAL STUDY DESIGN

It was felt that the original study design represented the best combination of research requirements for an ideal study and the practical requirements of completing a specific study at a reasonable cost in a time period that might produce useful results.

However, a number of developments resulted in changes in the design of the study. These developments were:

1. A cutback in the number of Neighborhood Youth Corps slots available to New York City
2. A change in eligibility requirements for the Neighborhood Youth Corps, effective on or about November 1, 1965, to encourage the enrollment of more "hard-core" poor youth
3. Discovery of a much lower intake rate at the work centers studied (JOIN and HARYOU-Act) than was originally anticipated.

Both the original study design and our schedule of major activities were changed because of these developments. First, the cutback in slots meant that too small a proportion of the anticipated cohort of 1,600 youth would be going into the Neighborhood Youth Corps within the scheduled time period to permit meaningful statistical analysis in Phases 3, 4, and 5. Secondly, the very low intake rate at the work centers studied would have required either an extensive "stretch-out" in existing schedules to acquire the projected number of interviews or a thinning out of a small research staff over a larger number of centers.

Finally, the change in eligibility requirements meant that if we started out data collection on October 1, 1965 as originally planned, two different sets of eligibility requirements would be in effect during our study, making our sample of youth too heterogeneous. Accordingly, both the original study design and the original schedule of major activities were modified to fit the new conditions.

Modified Study Design

The study design was modified to adjust to these changed conditions by studying two panels instead of one. They are:

1. Seven hundred youth who applied for service after November 1, 1965 (Phase 1). Those dropping out of the program before being assigned were interviewed a second time regarding the reasons for their termination, their reactions to the intake process, and their occupational experiences since leaving the work center (Phase 2.)
2. Enrollees in the Neighborhood Youth Corps who were assigned under the new requirements which, in fact, went into effect in December, 1965. This sample was drawn from the Neighborhood Youth Corps payroll records at the New York City Department of Welfare and supplies a city-wide sample of enrollees. Interviews were conducted three months after enrollment in the Corps (Phase 3). Subsequent interviews were conducted with those who leave the Corps within three months of starting (Phase 4) and with those who remained six months or longer (Phase 5).

Thus, we operated with two panels instead of one. Nevertheless, the original panel concept was maintained; all youths from the Phase 1 group who were placed in the Neighborhood Youth Corps were followed up in accordance with the original design. In all, the modified design called for a minimum of 1,450 different youths to be interviewed in the study. As part of the process of evaluating the responses of Phases 3 and 4, it was decided to interview the immediate work supervisors of these youths.

The Phase 1 Study

The field methods employed in the Phase 1 study, dealing with youth at the time of their reception at the job intake center, was in part determined by the characteristics of the job intake centers and the clientele that they serve.

Early in the history of the project, cooperative working relations were established with a variety of agencies: the regional office of the Neighborhood Youth Corps, the New York City Poverty Operations Board, the headquarters of JOIN, HARYOU-Act and Mobilization for Youth. In all cases agency staff proved cordial and interested in the project. Our visits to these organizations served the dual purpose of acquainting them with our plans for the study and learning their operating procedures. We were able to pretest questionnaires with the help of program directors at JOIN, HARYOU-Act, Mobilization for Youth and the New York City Department of Personnel.

Selection of Job Centers

The choice of centers in which to base Phase 1 of the study involved considerable thought and discussion of what our criteria for selection were to be. It also required a number of visits to centers to learn the character of their programs and the volume of their clientele. A great deal of effort went into the attempt to get statistics on intake and Neighborhood Youth Corps placement from the various work centers and their headquarters, as one of the bases for making our decision. We found it difficult to get enrollment figures in which we could have confidence. In some instances statistics in the categories needed (as for example, weekly intake of males) were simply not available. In other instances discrepancies between the figures given by operating and supervisory personnel left us in doubt as to which, if either, were correct.

In our discussions we were mindful of the fact that the intake centers differ in several important respects: volume of intake, differences in the proportions of Negro, Puerto Rican, and other clientele, and in the character of their over-all programs. We hoped to select two centers which would yield data which could be best handled statistically and which would be of maximum value and interest to program planners on the national level.

One issue was whether to try to keep the programs of the two centers constant and vary the character of the clientele (e.g., by selecting two JOIN centers whose programs are the same but in neighborhoods of differing socio-economic character) or to keep the character of the clientele constant and vary the program (e.g., by selecting centers with differing programs in similar neighborhoods). This raised the question of what problems would be presented by the inclusion in the study of a sizable number of Puerto Rican and other white respondents. It was decided that it would be statistically advantageous (e.g., reduce sample size requirements) and also of more benefit to program planners on the national level to choose two centers with a predominantly Negro clientele. It was also decided to vary the program by choosing one JOIN center and one HARYOU-Act center.

The JOIN center, the John F. Kennedy center in Brooklyn's Bedford-Stuyvesant, is exclusively a job placement and counseling center sponsored by the city of New York. It is located on the ground floor on a major street in Bedford-Stuyvesant, the largest single Negro ghetto in metropolitan New York.

The 135th Street HARYOU-Act center is one of three centers operated by HARYOU-Act in central Harlem. HARYOU-Act is an independent, non-profit, community-action agency whose activities include education, remediation, leisure time activities, community organization, neighborhood improvement, as well as job training, counseling and placement.

JOIN's primary target population is youth and young adults while HARYOU-Act's is all age groups in central Harlem.

The decision to concentrate on a Negro clientele implied a correlative decision with respect to sampling Neighborhood Youth Corps enrollees according to the modified study design. In this sampling we have confined ourselves to six hundred Negro enrollees.

The Communities in Which the Job Intake Centers Were Located

Central Harlem. Central Harlem embraces an area of 3.5 square miles with a 1960 population of 232,781. Of this, 93 percent is Negro and approximately 5 percent Puerto Rican. The 1960 (census) Negro population for Manhattan Island was stated at 397,000. Hence, the bulk of the Island's Negro population, or 58.4 percent, live in central Harlem.

The congested character of the community is reflected in its high population density - nearly 66,300 persons per square mile, or more than 100 persons per acre, compared with an over-all population density for New York City of 24,700 persons per square mile. This makes central Harlem the most densely settled ghetto of any major American city.

The median age for central Harlem's population in 1960 was 32.8, less than the 35.0 age median for New York City but notably higher than the 1960 median of 22.8 for Negroes nationally.

Other familiar characteristics of the community are: median education achievement of less than 9 school years; adult male unemployment rate more than double the national average; median family income 60 percent of the New York City average; narcotics addiction rate almost 10 times the city-wide rate; more than half of housing units classified as substandard; better than 1 in 6 persons receiving some form of public assistance and 1 in 4 youths under the age of 18 living in families receiving A.D.C.; a tuberculosis rate more than double the city-wide average and a venereal disease rate more than 4 times the city-wide average; an infant mortality rate of 42 per 1,000 live births; and a homicide rate greater than 4½ times that for the rest of New York City.

Harlem became a Negro ghetto after World War I, with the influx of migration from the South and other parts of New York City that reduced the proportion of white residents in the community from more than two-thirds in 1910 to less than one-fourth by 1930.

Bedford-Stuyvesant. This community in Brooklyn, New York became a Negro ghetto between 1940 and 1960, when the percentage of Negro inhabitants rose from 25 percent in 1940 to nearly 75 percent by 1960. In 1960 the population was found to be 284,000, of which 211,000 were Negro, 30,000 or 11 percent were Puerto Rican, and the remainder white. Bedford-Stuyvesant mobility patterns revealed that in 1960 more than one-third of the newer inhabitants, who constituted 40 percent of the total community population, had lived elsewhere in New York City in 1955. This would indicate that Bedford-Stuyvesant is probably receiving much of the spill-over of Negro inhabitants fleeing Harlem.

The community shares all the classic socio-economic features of a Negro urban ghetto: less than 9 [redacted] school years have been completed; close to 50 percent of all families have incomes below $4,000; adult male unemployment rate is more than double the national rate and the teenage unemployment rate is more than 7 times national rates; there is a disproportionately high dependent population (i.e., youth under 18 and persons over 60); there is a high incidence of family impairment relative to the rest of Brooklyn and to New York City; close to 1 in 6 persons in the community receive some form of welfare assistance with more than 1 in 4 children under 18 in families receiving A.D.C.; there is a high incidence of communicable diseases relative to New York City; juvenile crime is more than double the city-wide rate; the homicide rate is triple that of the city; and the high-school drop-out rate exceeds 30 percent.

In contrast to central Harlem, whose youth population (i.e., persons under 20 years of age) is 32 percent of the total community, Bedford-Stuyvesant's youth population constitutes nearly 40 percent of the area's total inhabitants.

THE PURPOSE OF THE PHASE 1 STUDY

The over-all purpose of the Phase 1 study is to provide a profile of the young adult Negro male who is the potential target population for the Neighborhood Youth Corps in New York City.

This profile, while hopefully providing necessary and valuable information in itself, is designed to provide bench marks for subsequent studies which deal with particular segments of this potential target population, as they are recruited or not recruited in the Neighborhood Youth Corps and as they progress or fail to progress through various stages of the Neighborhood Youth Corps.

The profile is designed to elicit specific data on:

1. Socio-economic characteristics of out-of-school Negro job or job-training applicants
2. Their reasons for seeking employment or training
3. Their knowledge of the job intake centers
4. Their relationships to their family, especially as these focus upon work attitudes
5. Their economic and work aspirations
6. Their educational backgrounds
7. Their job histories
8. Their race attitudes
9. Their sense of self-esteem

THE METHOD OF SELECTION OF RESPONDENTS

We set up interviewing stations at reception desks at the John F. Kennedy JOIN Center on Fulton Street in Bedford-Stuyvesant, Brooklyn, and at the HARYOU-Act Center at 135th Street in Manhattan.

Each youth, as he approached the reception desk, was asked by a JOIN or HARYOU-Act receptionist his age and his reason for applying at the Center. His age and reason for applying were entered in a special reception screening form prepared by the Center for the Study of Unemployed Youth. All Negro male respondents 16 to 21 years of age, who were seeking work or job training, were classified as eligible for the Phase 1 interview.

Special instructions and training were provided by us to the receptionists, and special work schedules were set up to see that both interviewers and receptionists were available at all times.

After the youths had been screened, they were sent to vocational counselors of the respective agencies and underwent the standard intake procedures of the respective agencies. This was done in order not to interfere with the primary mission of the agencies, that of providing work or job training.

Interviewers were stationed at all exits to intercept eligible respondents as they left their intake interview. They were then taken to private offices (in the JOIN case to separate premises) where the Phase 1 interviews were administered. Respondents were assured that the Phase 1 interview was totally separate from their work or training application, was being conducted by a separate organization, New York University, and that the results of the interview were completely confidential.

Interviewers report that these attempts to gain information that was not contaminated by respondents' job hopes were not totally successful. Some of the respondents on some questions undoubtedly projected more favorable images of themselves than they might have projected had the interviews been conducted apart from the job situation. As a result, findings must be read with some caution. Estimates of personal, social, and economic deficiencies of respondents and their families are probably underestimates. Estimates of the seriousness of youth with regard to future jobs and training are probably overestimates. At the same time, as the reader will discover, the range and seriousness of response on most items indicates remarkable reality orientation of these youth that suggests that both the overestimates and underestimates are minimal.

Special care was taken to make sure that every eligible youth was interviewed. The reception screening form was used as a check against actual interviewing, and the attempt was made to secure interviews with all eligible respondents. Subsequent checks indicate that over 95 percent of all eligible respondents were interviewed.

Interviewing was conducted during the period of November 10, 1965 to June 30, 1966; a total of 680 interviews were conducted. Of these, 55 were with Puerto Rican youths; 24 were with other whites; and 601 (88.4 percent) were with Negroes. The effective sample size for this study, therefore, was 601 Negroes.

Four hundred thirty-four of the 601 interviews were conducted at the Bedford-Stuyvesant JOIN Center and 167 were gathered at the HARYOU-Act 135th Street Center. The imbalance of numbers in the JOIN and HARYOU-Act groups reflects differences both in the flow of applicants to these respective centers and the inability of the Center for the Study of Unemployed Youth to secure permission for interview space at other HARYOU-Act centers.

Because of the disparity of the sizes in the two subsamples, all response was analyzed by the center at which respondents were interviewed, and statistical differences in their responses were calculated. In the following study only those differences in the response between the subsamples that are statistically significant will be discussed.

CONTROL STUDIES

During the interviewing period, it was decided that additional control studies would be necessary to provide standards of evaluating much of the data in the main study, especially data on self-esteem and work attitudes. It was felt that we could not adequately interpret such response unless we had similar data from youths with different ethnic and socio-economic backgrounds.

As a result three control studies were designed to focus upon males who were:

1. High school juniors and seniors in a primarily white school that drew its students from a wide socio-economic class spectrum in the New York metropolitan area
2. College freshmen and sophomores in a school that was primarily white, whose socio-economic level was not skewed in any one direction

3. Freshmen and sophomores in a college whose students were primarily American Negroes

The three samples serve to provide comparisons by class, education and race in varying combinations.

To implement these control studies a wide variety of schools were investigated, and school officials were interviewed. Many school officials were unwilling to cooperate in the research because of time and administrative problems involved in such cooperation. However, we were able to secure the cooperation of school officials at Cardinal Hayes High School, a Catholic parochial school in the Bronx, New York; Fordham University in the Bronx, New York; and Howard University at Washington, D. C.

As a result the control samples include: 260 male juniors and seniors at Cardinal Hayes High School; 442 male freshmen and sophomores at Fordham University; and 196 American-born Negro male freshmen and sophomores at Howard University. In addition, data on the self-esteem of New York state high-school juniors and seniors, comparable to the data elicited in the main and control studies, was graciously provided to us for comparative purposes by Dr. Morris Rosenberg of the National Institute of Mental Health. The data are part of that gathered for his study, Society and the Adolescent Self-Image, Princeton University Press, 1965.

All students in the three control groups were administered paper and pencil tests consisting of questions selected from our Phase 1 questionnaire. The questionnaires were self-administered under the direct supervision of the Center staff (in the case of Fordham and Cardinal Hayes High School) and professional researchers (at Howard University).

Students were interviewed in classes that were required of all students in their respective schools in order to avoid biases introduced by the selective pull of a given elective subject. Description of the control samples are presented on pages 17 and 18.

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Chapter II

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

This chapter presents in compressed form the basic findings of the study. Those readers interested in the specific analysis upon which it is based, will find a detailed treatment in subsequent chapters.

BASIC SOCIOECONOMIC PROFILE OF RESPONDENTS

Age

Almost three out of five respondents were 17 or 18 years of age; a third were either 19 or 20 years of age. Relatively fewer were 16 years (11 percent) or 21 years (8 percent) of age.

Place of Birth

More than half of all respondents (56 percent) were born in New York City, and a third were born in the South Atlantic states. The remainder reported widely scattered places of birth.

Over a third of respondents not born in New York City were born in localities of less than 5,000 population, and almost 60 percent of those not born in New York City were born in localities of less than 25,000. Two-thirds of all respondents born in the South were born in localities of less than 25,000.

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Educational Attainment and Training

Over three-fourths of all respondents had not completed high school. A fourth had not completed tenth grade, and over a half had not completed eleventh grade. This compares with school drop-out rate estimates of 30-50 percent for the areas in which the centers are located. It thus appears that respondents seeking work at JOIN and HARYOU-Act centers are not representative of youth populations of their respective centers, but are more likely to be school leavers.

In addition, respondents were deficient in vocational and technical training. Over two-thirds of respondents had not received any technical or vocational training of any sort. Fourteen percent had completed some kind of vocational training course in either a high school, a prison or reformatory, or in private industry. The remainder, 18 percent, had started but not completed a vocational training.

These who received such training were trained principally in courses like auto-mechanics, carpentry, electrical work, or other similar handicrafts.

Educational Attainment and Place of Birth

Interestingly enough respondents born in New York City had a higher rate of school leaving than did respondents born in the South or in smaller cities. Over 80 percent of all respondents born in New York City were school leavers, as compared with a rate of 70 percent for those born in the

South and a rate of slightly over 60 percent among respondents born in cities of less than 25,000.

Such data are not necessarily an indictment of the New York City school system. They do indicate that problems of urban life and urban education in New York City appear to make it more difficult for New York-born youths to complete their high-school education.

SOCIOECONOMIC BACKGROUND OF RESPONDENTS' PARENTS

Place of Birth

Almost 90 percent of the parents of respondents were born outside of New York City, and over 70 percent of all mothers and over 60 percent of their fathers were born in the South. Over a third of all mothers and fathers were born in localities of less than 25,000 population.

Thus, respondents, if they were not migrants, were the children of migrants who were moving into a new urban environment which was radically different from their previous environment.

Occupation of Male Head of House

In over 40 percent of all families, there was no male head of house. In the remainder, 33 percent were unemployed. Among those employed, 27 percent were operatives and 23 percent were service workers. Sixteen percent were craftsmen and 11 percent were laborers. Twelve percent were white-collar workers, with 9 percent being clerical workers.

Occupation of Female Head of Household

In 81 percent of all families there was an adult female head of household, and in one-third of all families the adult female head of household was employed.

Two-fifths of the employed female heads of household were service workers (primarily domestics); 15 percent were operatives, and 14 percent were "professionals" (nurses' aides who were probably termed nurses by respondents).

Family Income

Only slightly more than a half felt able to report on the total earned income of their families. Among these, a third reported no family income, living apparently on welfare aid, unemployment insurance, workmen's compensation, old age assistance and other forms of "unearned" income. The median weekly family income for all respondents reporting was $66 per week.

In those families where there was a male head of household and the weekly earnings of the male was known, the median reported earned weekly income was $88. In those families where there was a working female head of household, the median earned weekly income was $64.

It thus appears that a major depressant of the already low family incomes was the absence of working males in almost half the homes of respondents.

Family Backgrounds of Respondents

We have indicated that 86 percent of all respondents were living in family groupings with one or more older heads of household. A tenth were living alone or with friends, and 5 percent were married.

Almost 40 percent of the respondents were living in impaired families, households in which one or more parents were absent. Twenty-four percent were living in families together with both parents.

Over half of all respondents were living in households which did not include a male parent or male step or foster parent. Three-fifths were living in households that included one or more real parents, and one quarter were living in households without parents, excluding those living alone or married. These include households headed by older brothers, sisters, uncles, aunts, grandparents and miscellaneous adults.

Among the 70 percent of all respondents not living with their real fathers, over half (almost two-fifths of the entire sample) had not been living with their fathers since the age of 12. Almost 40 percent had not lived with their father since the age of eight (one-fourth of the total sample).

Among the 43 percent of respondents not living with their real mothers, 27 percent had not been living with their mothers since the age of 12; and by the age of 8, almost 20 percent were not living with their mothers.

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RESPONDENTS' ATTITUDES TO THEIR FAMILIES

Despite these evidences of an impaired family structure, respondents reported relatively few severe family problems. Over three-fourths said that there were not many arguments in their families.

Less than 5 percent said that "they did not get along so well" with their families. The remaining 95 percent dividing equally between reporting that they "get along well" with each other and "fairly well."

Over two-thirds of the respondents reported spending the free time of the family together, and slightly more than a quarter reported spending their free time separately.

Over two-thirds of the respondents reported asking advice from other family members. Because of the absence of fathers, the family member most frequently asked advice was the mother (almost twice as often as were fathers). Aunts, grandmothers, and sisters were more asked than were uncles, grandfathers, and other males.

When asked if their families had had any problems such as sickness, money problems, housing problems, problems concerning relatives, etc., only one in eight respondents said their families had a lot of these problems. The remainder divided almost equally between reporting some problems and hardly any. Seventy percent of the respondents who reported that their family had a lot or some problems said they involved themselves in trying to solve them, and 61 percent said they try to help financially. Almost a third of those reporting problems said these problems interfered with getting or holding a job.

The above items indicate that the vast majority of respondents, despite their impaired family structure, do not report their family situation as being a source of difficulty. One might guess that a sample of middle-class white youths having a family structure that is in no wise as "impaired," would not report attitudes toward their family that are any more critical.

It thus appears that part of the attitude toward the family is based upon expectations that are derived from the immediate experience in the family and of families in their immediate environment. To hypothesize further, respondents living in impaired family structures adjust their expectations to what they think their families can provide, and perhaps for this reason are not dissatisfied with their families.

RESPONDENTS' WORK HISTORY

One-third of all respondents had never had a job (part-time or full-time) since leaving school, and almost 40 percent had never had a full-time job.

Among those having one or more full-time jobs, the highest weekly earnings received averaged $60 per week (median). A fourth of all respondents who had ever worked reported a highest salary in excess of $75 per week, and only an eighth reported a highest salary of less than $45 per week.

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The median weekly income received on respondents' last job was $57 per week. One-quarter received between $45 and $50 per week, and one-quarter had earned $65 per week or more.

It thus appears that the monetary rewards offered by the Neighborhood Youth Corps are less than that which three-quarters of the youth received on their last job.

More than one-half of the respondents had been out of work for more than a month; a fifth were out of work from 1-3 months; and 16 percent were out of work 4-6 months and another 13 percent for more than 6 months.

Since almost all respondents who came to the center came because they were looking for work, their employment status does not provide a measure of unemployment in their social milieu. To achieve such a measure, respondents were asked about the employment status of their best friends.

Almost 40 percent were working; over a quarter were out of work; and a fifth were in school. Six percent were in the armed services, and a tenth reported no best friend. When respondents with no best friends and with best friends in school are excluded from analysis, the remainder describes best friends who are in the labor force. In this group the unemployment rate is 36 percent.

UNEMPLOYMENT AS A PROBLEM FOR RESPONDENTS AND THEIR FAMILIES

Among all respondents asking advice from other family members, over 60 percent asked about jobs and type of work to do; a quarter asked about education, and a sixth about money problems. "Personal things" such as sex, girls, friends, recreation were the focus of advice of only 20 percent of those asking. Getting married was the focus of slightly more than a tenth.

Over half of all respondents said that the fact of their not working was a problem to their family, and half of these felt it was a big problem. A quarter of the respondents reported getting a "hard time" from their families (primarily their mothers) because of their unemployment.

Four-fifths of all respondents reported worrying about not having a job, and half of these said they worried a lot. Only one in eight said they worried a little, and the remainder (almost 40 percent) said they worried some. They worried primarily because they needed money, but also because their families needed money.

Over three-fourths of all respondents said they worried about the future, and the majority of these said they worried a lot. Jobs were the source of worries of over 70 percent of those who worried about the future. These worries included worries about the kinds of jobs they might get, job security, and the pay level of such jobs. Forty percent worried about earning enough money to live on without specifically linking these worries to jobs.

Three-quarters of respondents said they would like to move from their neighborhoods, though over half said they would like to be in either New York City or the New York metropolitan area.

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Those who wanted to move cited as reasons: a desire for cleaner, quieter neighborhoods which had less crime; a desire for trees, grass, open space, and a desire for a respectable neighborhood were also mentioned.

RESPONDENTS' CONSCIOUSNESS OF RACIAL FACTORS IN EMPLOYMENT

Over half of all respondents said it was easier for young Negroes to find employment than it was a few years ago, and a third said that it was not easier. The remainder said, "don't know."

The reasons for believing it was easier were: they have more education and training; and because of protests, demonstrations, and civil rights laws.

When asked if it was easier for young Negroes they knew personally to find jobs, almost a half said it was easier; and 37 percent said it was not easier.

When asked if demonstrations and protests had helped Negroes to get jobs, had made it harder, or made not much of a difference, half said the demonstrations and protests had helped; a tenth said they made it harder, and a quarter said they had not made much difference.

When asked whether protests and demonstrations or education and training helped get more jobs for Negroes, less than 3 percent said protests and demonstrations; four-fifths said education and training; and a tenth said both.

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RESPONDENTS' ULTIMATE JOB ASPIRATIONS

Respondents were asked to indicate the jobs they would like to do for the rest of their lives. Over a third mentioned jobs as craftsmen (automobile mechanics, machinists, electricians, carpenters, welders, printers, radio and TV repairmen). Thirty percent mentioned professional/technical and semi-professional jobs as engineers, draftsmen, musicians, writers, artists, social workers and teachers. An eighth aspired to clerical jobs, and 6 percent aspired to jobs as policemen. Over 60 percent of all respondents said they had a good or very good chance of getting the kind of job they chose.

REASONS FOR SEEKING A JOB AT THE JOIN AND HARYOU EMPLOYMENT CENTERS

Slightly over 30 percent of all respondents said they had come to employment centers "mostly for money;" over 20 percent said "mostly for training;" and almost half said "both."

Among all respondents who came for or expected some kind of training as part of the work secured through the center, two-fifths expected training as craftsmen (mechanics, electricians, carpentry, etc.), and one-fifth expected training in office work (typing and operation of office machines).

A higher percentage of those who came mostly for money expected training in office work such as clerk-typist positions and the use of office machines. A higher proportion of those coming mostly for training mentioned training for crafts than did those who came mostly for money.

Those respondents who came for training or mostly for training, expected better kinds of jobs than those who came for work or mostly for work. Those who focused upon work were less concerned with the level of the work.

INCOME EXPECTED FROM HOPED-FOR JOB OR TRAINING

The amount of income expected from the hoped-for job or training also depends upon whether respondents come to the centers mostly for work or for training.

The median expected income of those who came mostly for training was $30 per week. This means that over half of these respondents expect higher weekly earnings than the Neighborhood Youth Corps, in fact, provides.

Even more importantly, the median income of those who came to centers for work and training was $55 per week; and among those who came mostly for work, the median income was $63 per week.

Among the entire group, i.e., disregarding reasons for coming to center, 29 percent expected to earn $37.50 or less; and 63 percent expected to earn more. The remainder replied, "don't know."

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RESPONDENTS' KNOWLEDGE OF THE HARYOU AND JOIN CENTERS

Knowledge of JOIN or HARYOU-Act job centers was derived primarily from personal contacts rather than through the mass media. Half of all respondents named friends and almost a quarter named relatives as sources of their hearing of these centers. The mass media, radio, newspapers and television lagged far behind personal contacts as a source of knowledge, although friends and relatives may have learned of the centers through the mass media.

THE INFLUENCE OF FAMILY AND FRIENDS IN SEEKING EMPLOYMENT AT A CENTER

Seven-eighths of all respondents living in a family reported telling their families that they were going to the center. Of these, 90 percent reported that family members said that it was a good idea; 6 percent said that their families thought it was a waste of time; and 5 percent reported no response.

Three-fifths of all respondents said they had told their friends they were planning to go to the center. Of these 71 percent reported that their friends thought it was a good idea, and less than 20 percent reported that their friends thought it was a waste of time.

Two-thirds of the respondents went to the center alone; 20 percent went with friends; and an eighth went with relatives. Among those who did not go with friends, almost half had friends who had gone to the center at other times. A third had friends who were planning to apply to the center. Another 10 percent applied at their friends' prior recommendation; and an additional 5 percent reported that when they were applying to the center, their friends said it was a good idea. Thus, friends were affirmatively involved in the decision to come to the center of three-quarters of all respondents.

BASIC ATTITUDES TOWARD WORK

The New York Negro youth samples showed a substantially different attitude toward work than did the middle-class white and Negro youth groups who were probed on the same questions.

Much higher percentages of the New York Negro groups agreed with the statement: "Work has no dignity" than did the other groups.

A much higher proportion of the New York Negro youth group (37 percent) agreed with the following statement than did the other groups: "You don't have to work at a job you don't like; you can always go on relief." Relief then, is not as acceptable to the middle-class groups as a substitute for a disliked job.

Similarly, a somewhat higher percentage of the New York Negro group than of the other three samples agreed with the statement: "It's better to have a rotten job than no job at all."

A substantially higher percentage of the New York Negro groups than of the others agreed with the statement: "So long as I earn enough to live decently, I don't care too much what kind of work I do."

Higher percentages (in the neighborhood of 75 percent) of the New York Negro samples and of the Howard University sample than of the white samples agreed with the statement that: "Work is the only way to survive in this world."

While this result appears to affirm a positive attitude toward work in the light of the other results, it is possible to conclude that the Negro samples are affirming work (and the resultant income) as necessary to survival and not as a positive value in itself. The white groups may think of work as a means to achieving other values and therefore devalue work per se.

A somewhat higher percentage of the New York Negro youth samples (65 percent) than of the other three samples (48 percent to 53 percent) agreed with the statement: "Work is so interesting that people do it even though they don't need the money." These results indicate that the New York youth samples recognize the possibility that work can be interesting.

Slightly lower percentages of the New York Negro youths than of the other samples agreed with the statement: "Even on a job you don't like, you can learn something you wouldn't learn otherwise."

Response to all of the above statements taken together indicate that the New York Negro youth groups were primarily concerned with minimal economic survival. Work is experienced as a means to survival, and not something with dignity or meaning apart from it; where work and survival do not coincide they prefer survival. They experience work as not being dignified, but recognize implicitly that others can find work interesting, and that one can learn on the job. But they themselves appear to be forced to work in its minimal economic terms.

While such an attitude is not a full affirmation of the Protestant ethic and of the ethic of mobility, it is not inconsistent with the work programs that provide a genuine basis for economic fulfillment through work.

These over-all conclusions, however, are contradicted by the response to one additional question: "Supposing that somebody just gave you the money you needed every week, would you like this better than working for your money or would you rather be working?"

All samples except the JOIN sample preferred work at approximately the 75 percent level. Eighty-six percent of the JOIN sample expressed a preference for work. This response may be related to the fact that the interview was held as part of a series of job placement interviews.

RESPONDENTS' SELF-ESTEEM AS WORKERS

The New York Negro samples tended to have lower self-esteem than the middle-class white and Negro samples in connection with their estimates of themselves as workers. A substantially smaller percentage rated themselves as hard workers and as fast learners than did the other three samples.

ESTIMATES OF FUTURE INCOME NEEDS AND THE ABILITY OF RESPONDENTS TO ACHIEVE THESE NEEDS

The New York Negro youth sample estimated its income needs in five to ten years, assuming a marriage with two children, as $151 per week. This estimate was $22 a week less than that of Cardinal Hayes High School juniors and seniors and over $40 per week less than that of the Howard University and Fordham University freshmen and sophomores.

A third of the New York Negro respondents said they had a very good chance of making the income they thought they needed as compared with 55 percent to 67 percent levels in the three other groups.

Seven-eighths of all New York Negro youth respondents said they had a very good or fairly good chance of making the needed income, as compared with 95 percent levels in the other three samples.

The expected income level of all respondents who felt they had a very good chance of achieving that level was analyzed. Among the New York Negro respondents the median was $122 per week, $50 per week less than the median amount cited by Cardinal Hayes students and some $70 per week less than the two college samples. Thus, the Negro youth groups appear in general to be less optimistic (or more realistic) about the future. As a whole they are not idealistic dreamers who dream of "pie in the sky."

Their job aspirations primarily are for jobs as skilled craftsmen and lower white-collar jobs. While their estimates of their future needed income is substantially higher than that earned by their own parents, it is substantially less than that of middle-class whites and Negroes in roughly the same age groups. Moreover, their estimates of obtaining the income they think they will need is more pessimistic than that of middle-class white and Negro youth. Those New York Negro unemployed youth who think they have a very good chance of earning the needed income expect a substantially lower income than that expected by the other middle-class youth samples.

RESPONDENTS' SELF-ESTEEM

One of the most clear-cut and significant findings of the study is the fact that the New York Negro samples had substantially lower self-esteem than middle-class white and Negro samples.

Self-esteem was measured on nine items derived from the Rosenberg study of the adolescent self-image. (See Chapter IX.) These nine items were administered along with other questions not only to New York samples, but also to samples of white high-school and college students and American Negro college students.

Each respondent was scored in terms of the number of items manifestly expressing high self-esteem. Thus, a respondent could make a response indicative of high self-esteem on nine items, and have a score of nine, or make no responses indicative of self-esteem and have a score of zero.

The median score of all respondents in all samples was six. The response of each sample was then compared with this "grand average." The two New York Negro groups had the highest percentages of respondents with below-average self-esteem scores, followed by the Howard University group. The Fordham University sample had the lowest percentage of respondents with below-average self-esteem scores, and the other white youth sample ranked second. The JOIN group contained substantially more low-scoring respondents than did any other group.

PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS WITH SELF-ESTEEM
SCORES BELOW THE GRAND MEDIAN
(Weighted Scores)

	%
JOIN	78.8
HARYOU-Act	46.7
Howard University	41.3
Cardinal Hayes High School	37.7
Fordham University	31.4

Another way of comparing the samples on the basis of self-esteem is to divide the scores of all respondents on all items into tertiles (above average, average, and below average) and to compare the percentages for each of the five samples who are by this definition below and above average.

When this is done the two New York Hegro youth groups contained much higher percentages of below-average respondents

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than did the other samples, with the JOIN group being particularly defective in this regard. The Howard University sample ranks third; and the two white samples contain the lowest percentage of below-average respondents.

PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS IN EACH SAMPLE
WHO ARE BELOW AND ABOVE AVERAGE

	Below Average	Average	Above Average
	%	%	%
Total	29.5	39.8	30.7
JOIN	65.7	23.7	10.6
HARYOU-Act	29.3	45.0	25.7
Howard University	21.9	45.4	32.7
Cardinal Hayes High School	16.9	46.6	36.5
Fordham University	14.5	37.7	47.7

If deficient self-esteem constitutes a serious barrier to aspirations for mobility, the willingness and ability for individuals to secure and profit from training and from productive work, then bolstering self-esteem appears to be a critical variable in all job-training and in education and employment programs for such youth.

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN HARLEM AND BEDFORD-STUYVESANT RESPONDENTS

The original decision to interview at HARYOU-Act (in Harlem) and JOIN (in Bedford-Stuyvesant, Brooklyn) was based upon actual needs for locating jobless Negro youth at points

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where relatively well-organized job centers were part of a ghetto community action center.

The study was not particularly designed to measure the differences in the characteristics and attitudes of youth in their respective communities. However, preliminary analysis of differences in the response of each group of youths, indicated that the two youth groups were essentially different, and required entirely separate analysis.

Self-esteem

For instance, while both youth groups had relatively high proportions of respondents with low self-esteem, the Brooklyn JOIN group was much worse in this respect. Almost 80 percent of the JOIN respondents were below the median of all respondents on the self-esteem scale, as compared with almost 50 percent of HARYOU-Act respondents.

In addition, two-thirds of the JOIN respondents were in the lowest third of all respondents, as compared with 30 percent of the HARYOU-Act respondents. Higher percentages of the JOIN group expressed low self-esteem on seven of nine self-esteem items. In the other two items, the JOIN group ranked next to last on the percentage expressing low self-esteem. The HARYOU-Act group expressed the highest percentage of low self-esteem response on one item and next to highest percentage on four items.

On one item: "At times I think I am no good at all," the HARYOU-Act group projected the most favorable self-image of any sample; and the JOIN group presented the least favorable self-image.

Economic Optimism

While both groups provided an identical median estimate of their needs in the next 5 to 10 years, a much lower percentage of JOIN respondents felt they had a very good chance of achieving the income they needed than did the HARYOU-Act respondents. The HARYOU-Act group, however, was less optimistic than any group other than the JOIN group.

Similarly, 94 percent of the HARYOU-Act group (the highest percentage in any of the 5 probed on this question) felt that their children would be able to get better jobs than they would. Eighty percent of the JOIN group expressed that opinion, a level ranking fourth among the 5 samples. In short, the HARYOU-Act group is more optimistic than the JOIN group.

Attitudes toward Work

Among nine questions probing the basic attitudes toward work, there were substantial differences of opinion between the JOIN and HARYOU-Act groups on 6 items, and on 5 of these items the JOIN group expressed more negative or pessimistic attitudes toward work than did the HARYOU-Act group.

Self-esteem as Workers

On the 4 items which measure "economic" self-esteem, the ability to get and hold a job and the ability to learn, the 2 New York Negro youth samples tended to contain lower percentages of respondents who were confident of their job-seeking and working qualifications. On 2 of these items, higher percentages of the JOIN group expressed more confident attitudes; on one, the HARYOU-Act group expressed more confident attitudes; and on one there was no difference.

It thus appears that while the JOIN group has less self-esteem in general than the HARYOU-Act group, they have somewhat more favorable estimates of themselves as workers and as candidates for employment. This again may reflect a greater desperation to get work at the job centers.

Harlem and Bedford-Stuyvesant Respondents' Consciousness of Racial Factors in Employment

Harlem youth appeared more optimistic than Bedford-Stuyvesant youth about recent changes in job opportunities for Negroes, with almost three-fourths of the Harlem youth as against 45 percent of the Bedford-Stuyvesant youth answering yes to the question: "In general, is it easier today for Negro young people to find jobs than a few years ago?"

When asked if it is easier for young Negroes that they know to find jobs, the proportion answering "yes" fell in both groups; but more so with the Bedford-Stuyvesant group.

Seventy percent of the Harlem group answered "yes," and 36 percent of the Bedford-Stuyvesant group.

Both groups agreed that better training and education combined with the creation of social service centers were the most important factors in having improved job opportunities, with civil rights legislation and protests and demonstrations being considered as real but secondary factors. The Harlem youth appeared to place slightly more emphasis on the creation of centers (like HARYOU-Act and JOIN) than did Bedford-Stuyvesant youth and on protests and demonstrations, while the Bedford-Stuyvesant group stressed education and training slightly more.

Demonstrations and Protests

A higher percentage of Harlem respondents (56 percent) believed that demonstrations and protests had helped the job situation than did Bedford-Stuyvesant youth (46 percent), but both groups overwhelmingly considered education and training more important, the principal reasons cited being statements like: "You don't learn by protests," "Protests only work if you're qualified for the job," etc.

Respondents' Knowledge of Intake Centers

Personal contacts ranked first for both the Brooklyn and Harlem groups, as the way they heard about the intake centers with no important differences between the two groups. The Harlem youth mentioned mass media and "official" channels slightly more than did Bedford-Stuyvesant youth, but this was ranked far behind personal contacts in both groups.

Reasons for Coming to the Centers

The Harlem and Bedford-Stuyvesant groups gave virtually identical responses as reasons for coming to the centers. For both groups, a combination of money to be earned and a training program ranked first as reasons for coming; money to be earned from a job came second, and training alone followed.

Job Aspirations

In response to the question: "If you had your choice of the kind of work you would like to do for the rest of your life, what would you choose?" the two groups reported slightly different types of positions. Harlem youth mentioned managerial and proprietary positions most frequently and positions as craftsmen next most often, while Bedford-Stuyvesant youths reversed this, mentioning craftsmen positions most often and managerial and proprietary positions next.

Reasons for Wanting to Move to a New Neighborhood

Most respondents in both groups expressed a desire to move out of their neighborhoods in the same general proportions and in both groups desires for quieter, cleaner neighborhoods having less crime ranked highest. Bedford-

Stuyvesant respondents, however, placed even more emphasis on these three reasons than did Harlem youths (90 percent to 57 percent).

Age and Education

The age distribution for the two groups was essentially the same, but the JOIN respondents exhibited a greater tendency to drop out of school at earlier ages than the HARYOU-Act respondents.

Respondents' Region of Birth

Three-quarters of the HARYOU-Act respondents were born in New York City as against one-half of the JOIN respondents. Among respondents born outside of New York City, both groups report southern states as the principal place of birth (81 percent for JOIN, 87 percent for HARYOU-Act.)

JOIN also produced higher proportions of respondents born in small towns. Thus, the JOIN group contains a larger segment of respondents born in the rural South; the HARYOU-Act group tends to be more urban, having both a greater percentage of respondents born in New York City, and among those born in the South, a higher proportion born in cities having a population of 50,000 or more.

Place of Birth of Respondents' Parents

While over half of all the respondents were born in New York City, only 11 percent of their mothers and fathers were born in New York City. Somewhat larger percentages of Harlem than of Bedford-Stuyvesant parents were born in New York City. Further, of those parents born outside of New York City, a larger percentage of the Harlem parents were born in cities having populations of 50,000 and over, than of Bedford-Stuyvesant parents.

Occupation of Male Head of Household

An essentially similar range of occupations is reported by both groups, except that JOIN respondents report more craftsmen than HARYOU-Act respondents and more operatives, while HARYOU-Act respondents report more service workers among employed male heads of household.

The proportions of respondents reporting households with a female head of house were the same, but the percentages of female heads of household who are employed were slightly higher among HARYOU-Act respondents (40 percent to 35 percent). Among the employed female heads of house, the two groups reported similar occupations, except slightly greater proportions of service and clerical workers reported by the HARYOU-Act respondents.

Earned Family Income

The Bedford-Stuyvesant group reported generally lower economic levels than the Harlem respondents, as indicated by the following: (a) greater proportions of families having no earned income (35 percent to 24 percent); (b) a lower median income earned by the male head of house ($88 per week as against $100 per week); (c) slightly lower proportions of employed female heads of house (35 percent as against 40 percent).

Job Experience and Earnings

HARYOU-Act respondents indicated a more extensive job experience: (a) more JOIN respondents had never had a job (34 percent to 27 percent); (b) the median number of jobs held was smaller for JOIN respondents (1.7 percent) than for HARYOU-Act (2.3 percent); (c) more JOIN than HARYOU-Act respondents had never had a full-time job (38 percent to 34 percent); (d) the median weekly earnings for the best-paying full-time jobs ever held by respondents was $63 per week for Harlem youth, $58 per week for Bedford-Stuyvesant respondents; (e) more JOIN respondents earned $55 or less per week on the best-paying job they ever had than did HARYOU-Act respondents (39 percent to 24 percent); (f) on the last full-time job that they had, the median for HARYOU-Act respondents was $59 per week and $54 per week among JOIN youths.

Peer Groups

While the percentage of respondents' "best friends" who were working was essentially the same for the two groups, the percentage of best friends "looking for work" was notably higher in Brooklyn than in Harlem (32 percent to 8 percent); conversely, HARYOU-Act respondents reported higher percentages of best friends in school (29 percent to 13 percent). The percentages of friends "looking for work and hanging around" were 42 percent for Bedford-Stuyvesant and 16 percent for Harlem.

Family Structure; Attitudes toward Family

Impairment of family structure appeared greater among JOIN than among HARYOU-Act respondents. Those living in families without parents or foster parents number 28 percent in JOIN, 15 percent at HARYOU-Act; more JOIN respondents were not living with their real mothers (45 percent to 36 percent). Furthermore, greater percentages of JOIN respondents (21 percent) than of HARYOU-Act respondents (10 percent) had been no longer living with their mothers as early as eight years of age.

Differences between the two groups were also evident with respect to respondents' attitudes toward their families. More HARYOU-Act respondents (56 percent) reported getting along with their families "very well" than did JOIN respondents (43 percent). However, more JOIN youth (72 percent) reported spending their free time with their families than did HARYOU-Act respondents (55 percent) and reported greater reliance on asking their mothers for advice (54 percent) than did Harlem respondents (47 percent).

The two groups stressed different problems when asking advice of their families. The three most important topics for both groups were:

	JOIN	HARYOU-Act
	%	%
Getting a job	62	34
My education	28	21
Personal things (girls, sex, friends, recreation)	18	24

JOIN respondents placed somewhat greater stress on jobs and education, HARYOU-Act respondents on personal matters.

Although JOIN respondents did not report their families as having many more problems than did HARYOU-Act respondents, they did report that their involvement in those problems interfered with their getting and holding jobs more than did the Harlem youths (37 percent to 9 percent).

SUMMARY OF CONTRASTS BETWEEN BEDFORD-STUYVESANT AND HARLEM

On most objective measures, the JOIN group had more severe impairments and problems than the HARYOU-Act group. They, compared to the HARYOU-Act group, tended to come from smaller towns in the South, as did their parents, more recently, and in many ways appeared to have many occupationally related problems spring from the above. There were more impaired families in the JOIN group and lower incomes, greater dependency on public aid, more unemployment, more unemployment among their peers, a greater and earlier rate of school drop-outs, less job experience and lower rates of pay. These latter points may be a reflection of greater isolation in their ghetto than is true in Harlem. The JOIN group appears to have vastly greater numbers of individuals with low self-esteem; at the same time, their work attitudes may reflect this lack of self-esteem. They aspire to more skilled blue-collar and lower white-collar jobs, and less to higher-level jobs than do the Harlem respondents.

They, however, tend to rate themselves higher with respect to their abilities to get a job and to keep one. They appear to be somewhat less aggressive than the Harlem respondents with respect to civil rights issues including demonstrations and protests.

Despite the fact that the objective measures of family problems indicate a higher percentage of impaired families in the JOIN group, they indicate less than the HARYOU-Act group that they have family problems.

In general, JOIN respondents appear to be more passive. bland, conventional, and unaggressive than those of the Harlem youths. This appearance may be deceiving. The HARYOU-Act group on the whole is more confident about the future, more aggressive, and have more self-esteem.

The Bedford-Stuyvesant group may convey this attitude of relatively low aspiration, low aggressiveness, primarily because it has lower self-esteem; and this low self-esteem appears to be a function of its relative isolation in a new ghetto which is composed of more recent arrivals from the rural South.

The Harlem group, representing a longer adjustment to the urban North, may have more of the sophistication, the frustration, and the aggressiveness that emerge from contact with a freer environment, which however, does not provide the opportunities for constructive employment or the sense of freedom generated in that environment.

It must be noted, however, that while Harlem youth appear to be "healthier" than Bedford-Stuyvesant youth, this health or this image of health emerges only in comparison with a vastly more depressed Brooklyn youth. On those questions where it was possible to compare Harlem youth with middle-class Negro and white youths, the Harlem youth appear to have a vast number of impairments and deficiencies which are products of the same phenomena that produce the still greater impairments and deficiencies that occur among Bedford-Stuyvesant youths.

SUMMARY OF THE FACTORS RELATED TO FAVORABLE AND UNFAVORABLE WORK ATTITUDES

A special work-attitude scale was constructed, based on a combination of six individual items designed to measure respondents' work attitudes. The scale rests upon face validity rather than on a rigorous mathematical scaling procedure, but differences in response to the composite six items is consistently related to responses to other questions. The items used in this scale and the responses which have been adjudged as favorable work attitudes are:

1. Work has no dignity, in my experience (disagree).
2. Work is the only way to survive in this world (agree).
3. You don't have to work at a job you don't like; you can always go on relief (disagree).
4. So long as I earn enough to live decently, I don't care too much what kind of work I do (disagree).
5. On most jobs you don't get ahead by working hard; you get ahead by knowing the right people (disagree).
6. Even on a job you don't like, you can learn some things you wouldn't learn otherwise (agree).

A favorable attitude toward work is closely and significantly related to positive self-esteem. Fifty-four percent of all respondents with above-average self-image scores had favorable work attitudes, and only 15 percent of those with below-average self-images had above-average work attitude scores.

Place of Birth

Place of birth was closely related to work attitudes. Localities of less than 10,000 produced substantially lower percentages of respondents with above-average work attitudes, while cities of 10,000 and over produced much higher percentages of respondents with above-average work attitudes. Among respondents born in New York City, the percentage of above-average respondents is greater than it is for any other city-size category.

Since the smaller cities are primarily in the South, it appears that the social environments of Northern cities are more conducive to favorable attitudes toward work than the rural South. If this is true, then the vast differences in work attitudes between respondents residing in Bedford-Stuyvesant and in Harlem can be explained by the higher percentage of respondents and respondents' parents born in the rural South among the former group.

Impairment of Family Structure

A prevailing hypothesis governing attitudes to work is that an impaired family structure is productive of deficient work attitudes. Work attitude scores were analyzed by family types, including type of impairment of family structure. There is no evidence of any relationship between impairment of family structure and work attitudes. Respondents living at home with both real parents, for instance, do not have appreciably different work attitudes than do respondents living in a family type that includes no parents; and the work-attitude profile of respondents living with a mother only is slightly more favorable to work than that of respondents living with both parents.

All of this does not necessarily mean that the family is not important in the development of work attitudes, but it may mean that the quality of family relationships is more important than impairment in family structure. This may be particularly true if a high percentage of male parents are economically, socially, or personally unavailable as objects for identification, or if as objects of identification they provide deficient models for their children.

Age

Work attitudes are highest at age 18 in which 41 percent of the respondents have above-average work attitudes as compared with a 27 percent level at the age of 16 and a 29 percent level at the ages of 20 and 21.

The peaking of positive work attitudes at the age of 18 suggests an initial determination to do a good job when one enters the labor market which erodes with the experience of work and unemployment after entry.

Education

Positive work attitudes are strongly associated with education. Forty-three percent of respondents who completed high school have above-average work attitudes as compared with a 31 percent level among school leavers. Those respondents who left school before entering ninth grade included only 22 percent above-average respondents. Only respondents who completed eleventh grade have a percentage of above-average respondents that exceeds the level of the total sample.

These findings do not prove necessarily that high-school education produces favorable attitudes toward work. They do suggest, however, that those respondents with favorable attitudes toward work tend to complete high school. However, our data does suggest that the longer a respondent is out of school, the more his work attitude is likely to erode. Thus, among respondents out of school 18 months or more, 28 percent had above-average work attitudes as compared with a 35 percent level among those out of school less than three months.

The nature of the experience since leaving school appears to be decisive in changing work attitudes. Respondents who have never had a job include lower percentages of above-average respondents than do respondents who have one or jore jobs, full time or part time.

Respondents who have never had a full-time job also have lower percentages of above-average respondents than the group having one or more full-time jobs. Respondents who have had 1 or 2 full-time jobs only have the most favorable attitudes to work.

The analysis of number of jobs does not describe adequately their work experiences, since it does not take into account the amount of time spent at work (regardless of number of jobs held). Respondents who have worked less than 1 month have a far more favorable work-attitude profile than groups who have worked longer or not at all. Respondents who have worked 18 months or longer have a less favorable work profile than any other category, including those who have not worked at all. It thus appears that the factor most destructive of work attitudes is jobs that do not confirm a healthy attitude to work. Dull, menial, monotonous, low-paying, dead-end jobs, endured overtime may be more destructive than no job at all.

Attitudes Associated with Work Attitudes

Respondents with above-average work attitudes are much more likely to worry about the future than are respondents with average or below-average work attitudes. They appear to be still striving to achieve some level of mobility or job adjustment. A deficient work attitude thus appears to be a form of surrender to hopelessness.

The above-average and average group among those respondents who have left high school before graduation say they would like to return to school to finish their education much more than does the below-average group. Whether this group actually would go back to school, if conditions were favorable, is unknown; but their basic attitude is of striving toward self-improvement. In the same sense, respondents with "above-average" job attitudes aspire to more professional, technical, and managerial occupations, while respondents with below-average aspirations aspire more to jobs as craftsmen and skilled workers.

Respondents with above-average work attitudes estimate their income needs in 5 to 10 years at much lower levels ($120 per week) than do below-average respondents ($167 per week), but they estimate their chances of achieving the needed level as much better than do the below-average respondents.

Thus, the above-average respondents aim for less, but hope to achieve their aims; while the below-average groups aspire for what they think is not possible. The above-average thus appears to be more serious and realistic than the below-average in their striving for jobs and mobility. Higher percentages of the above-average group (24 percent) than the below-average group (16 percent) came to the center for training, while higher percentages of the below-average group came mostly for jobs (39 percent versus 31 percent).

Moreover, respondents in the above-average group expected to be paid less per week than those in the below-average group. This appeared to be true with little exception, whether they came for work, training or both. Thus, the above-average group expected to get less pay for work and training at the center; but more expected to get training, which was consistent with relatively longer-range plans to secure better jobs. The below-average group wanted higher pay, rather than training, in immediate jobs that appear not to lead into long-range plans. As regards the future, they aspire to incomes that they think they cannot attain. They surrender to a kind of hopelessness about the future and seek an immediate pay-off in the present.

SUMMARY OF THE FACTORS RELATED TO SELF-ESTEEM

Self-esteem, as we have previously indicated, is directly related to work attitudes. A very high percentage of respondents with above-average self-esteem thus have above average work attitudes. In a great many ways (but not all), the factors associated with high self-esteem are the same ones associated with positive work attitudes.

A higher percentage of respondents born in New York City (36 percent) than the respondents born outside New York City (23 percent) have above-average self-esteem. Respondents born in towns of less than 25,000 have larger percentages of below-average respondents and smaller percentages of above-average respondents, with cities of 1,000,000 and over producing the best self-esteem profiles. Again, since the small towns in our sample are primarily in the South, it is the Northern urban centers that produce respondents with the most favorable self-esteem profiles, and the Southern rural towns that produce the most deficient respondents. In addition, the children of parents who were born in small towns include higher percentages of below-average respondents or lower percentages of above-average respondents or both.

Family Structure

There are few sharp differences in self-esteem by family structure. Respondents living alone or as married heads of their own household have larger percentages (37 percent) of above-average respondents than any other group. This probably reflects the tendency of the more confident respondents to leave their family of orientation. However, among respondents living with their real mother or father include a larger percentage of below-average respondents (26 percent) than in other family groups, and respondents living with their real mother only had a more favorable self-esteem profile than any group other than those living alone or married. It thus appears, again, that it is not family structure per se that is decisive, but more probably the

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quality of relationships between parent and child and the personal qualities projected by the parent to the child.

There appears to be no relationship between self-esteem and family income, or age of respondent; but there is a relatively strong one between education and self-esteem. Thirty-nine percent of all respondents who completed high school were above average in self-esteem, as compared with a 27 percent level among school leavers. Moreover, the percentage of below-average respondents declines sharply with each grade completed (from 27 percent among eighth grade and less and to 13 percent among high-school graduates). The percentage of above-average respondents jumps sharply at the completion of eleventh grade and increases with completion of high school.

This data, however does not "prove" that education increases self-esteem. It suggests, however, that respondents with low self-esteem are likely to drop out and that failure may lower self-esteem.

However, among school drop-outs (who constitute three-fourths of the total sample), self-esteem declines sharply among those who have been out of school 6 months or more. The percentage of above-average respondents is 39 percent among school leavers who are out of school 3 to 6 months, and is 27 percent among those out of school 24 months or more. In this group, the post-school experience then helps to erode an already low self-esteem. On the other hand, self esteem tends to increase sharply among high-school graduates with length of time after graduation.

Job Experience and Self-esteem

Among respondents who have never had a full-time job, the percentage with below-average self-esteem (26 percent) is substantially higher than among those with one or more jobs. Among respondents with 5 to 10 full-time jobs the percentage of respondents with above-average self-esteem (35 percent) is somewhat higher than those with 1 to 4 full-time jobs.

While the respondents who have had 1 or more full-time jobs have a better self-esteem profile than those who have never had a job, total length of time spent working does not appear to affect self-esteem. Respondents who have worked 6 months or more have no more favorable a self-esteem profile than those who have worked less.

Some Correlates of Self-esteem

A substantially higher percentage of above-average respondents (50 percent) say they worry a lot about the future than do average (44 percent) and below-average (31 percent) respondents. This worry appears to be based upon serious concerns about the future that are coupled with anxieties about achieving these expectations. Their sense of seriousness is evidenced by the fact that over three-quarters of above-average respondents who have left school express a desire to go back to high school to finish their education, as compared with 51 percent among the below-average respondents.

The above-average respondents estimate their median income needs in 5 to 10 years as much less ($120 per week) than do below-average or average respondents ($146 and $141 respectively), but this too can be considered as evidence of greater concern about their situation.

On the other hand, the above-average respondents tend much more to aspire to professional/technical/managerial jobs (47 percent) than do the below-average (26 percent) or average respondents (29 percent). The below-average respondents tended more to aspire to skilled worker/craftsmen jobs (42 percent among below-average respondents and 32 percent among above-average respondents). In the same sense, higher percentages of respondents with above-average self-esteem (78 percent) expressed a desire to move from their present neighborhood in 5 to 10 years.

Reasons for Coming to the Center

There were no differences by self-esteem in reasons for coming to the center. However, respondents who came to the centers mostly for jobs expected higher wages than did others. The below-average respondents expected substantially higher pay ($71 per week) than did the above-average respondents ($58 per week). Among respondents who came for the training, the above-average respondents expected much lower pay than did the below average respondents.

Among those respondents who came to the center for both training and work, self-esteem was not related to the expected income. In total, higher percentages of above-average respondents than below-average respondents said the expected pay was fair, despite the fact that they expected lower pay. This was especially and markedly true of those respondents who came to the centers mostly for training. In that group, the below-average group expected much more money but a much higher percentage felt that the amount of money expected was unfair.

Thus, the above-average group appears to expect less money for training and regards the lower pay as fair; while the below-average group expects more money for training yet believes the greater pay to be unfair. These differences, in the light of previous analysis, seem to be due to the fact that the above-average respondent expects more genuine, long-run job training and career benefits from their training, and thus appears willing to accept lower pay for his training. The below-average group does not appear to expect long-range job benefits, is looking for immediate income and work, and feels dissatisfied when the short-term pay is low.

Racial Factors in Employment by Self-esteem

Among respondents with above-average self-esteem, the percentage of respondents who believe it is easier for a young Negro to find a job today than it was a few years ago is double that among the below-average group. This is true even when they are asked about people they know. A significantly higher percentage of the above-average respondents

(56 percent) than below-average respondents (34 percent) believed that demonstrations and protests have made it easier for Negroes to get jobs; but while all groups overwhelmingly agreed that education and training are more important than protests and demonstrations, the above-average group emphasized education more.

Chapter III

THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC BACKGROUND OF THE RESPONDENTS

INTRODUCTION

Age of Respondents

Almost half, 49 percent, of all respondents were 17 or 18 years of age; 25 percent were 17 and 24 percent were 18 years of age; 19 percent were 19 years old; 14 percent were 20 years old; 11 percent were 16 years old; and 8 percent were 21 years old.

Respondents interviewed at the HARYOU-Act Center were not significantly different in age from those interviewed at the JOIN Center.

Table 1

AGE OF RESPONDENTS

Respondent's Age	Total 601=100%	JOIN 434=100%	HARYOU 167=100%
	%	%	%
16	11.0	11.8	9.0
17	25.3	25.1	25.7
18	23.5	23.3	24.0
19	18.5	17.5	21.0
20	13.8	14.5	12.0
21	8.0	7.8	8.4

Education of Respondents

Three-fourths (76 percent) of all respondents had not completed high school and 8 percent had completed less than the 9th grade. Over half, 52 percent, had completed less than the 11th grade. Among the 24 percent who had completed high school were 2 percent who had some college education or trade-school education beyond high school.

JOIN respondents tended to drop out of school earlier than did HARYOU-Act respondents. Nine percent dropped out before completing 8th grade as compared with 4 percent among HARYOU-Act respondents. Twenty-four percent of the JOIN group dropped out before completing 9th grade and 55 percent dropped out before completing 10th grade. Among HARYOU-Act the cumulative drop-out percentages were 19 percent by 9th grade and 42 percent by 10th grade. By the 11th grade, both groups had reached a drop-out rate of over 75 percent.

Table 2

LAST GRADE OF SCHOOL COMPLETED

Grade	Total 601=100%		JOIN 434=100%		HARYOU 167=100%	
	%	% Cum	%	% Cum	%	% Cum
8th or less	7.5	7.5	9.0	9.0	3.6	3.6
9th	15.5	23.0	15.4	24.4	15.6	19.2
10th	28.6	51.6	30.9	55.3	22.8	42.0
11th	24.8	76.4	20.5	75.8	35.7	77.7
12th	21.8	98.2	22.4	98.2	20.4	98.1
Some college or trade school	1.8	100.0	1.8	100.0	1.8	100.0

Technical Training Received by Respondents

Almost a third (32 percent) of all respondents reported receiving some kind of technical training, and 18 percent reported completing a course in training. The major sources of training were vocational high schools (22 percent of all students undergoing such training), unspecified high schools (26 percent), prisons and reformatories (20 percent), and private industry (19 percent).

Table 3

AMOUNT AND SOURCE OF RESPONDENTS' VOCATIONAL TRAINING

Total respondents 601 = 100.0%
Received no training 410 = 68.2%
Received training 191 = 31.8%

Source of Training	Total* 191=100%	Training Complete 83=43.5%	Training Incomplete 108=56.5%
	%	%	%
Vocational high school	21.5	7.3	14.2
High school unspecified	25.7	14.2	11.5
Academic high school	4.2	2.1	2.1
Night school	0.5	---	0.5
Prison, reformatory	20.4	6.8	13.6
Manufacturing company	18.8	7.3	11.5
Job corps	5.8	2.6	3.2
Miscellaneous	5.8	2.6	3.2

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*Total exceeds 100 percent because several respondents had more than one course of training.

The major trades and crafts for which respondents received training were: carpentry and woodworking, automobile mechanics, electrical work, and clerical work.

Table 4

TYPE OF TRAINING RECEIVED

Type of Training	Total 191=100%*	Training Complete 83=100%*	Training Incomplete 108=100%*
	%	%	%
Auto mechanic/repair	14.7	14.5	14.8
Carperter/woodwork	14.7	19.3	11.1
Other crafts	14.1	15.7	13.0
Electrician	6.8	12.0	2.8
Clerical, typing, office machines	6.3	7.2	5.6
Cooking	6.3	4.8	7.4
Mechanical	5.2	4.8	5.6
Welding	5.2	3.6	6.5
Tailor/drapery	5.2	7.2	3.7
Radio/TV repair	4.7	2.4	6.5
Electronics (IBM)	4.2	4.8	3.7
Barber/hairdresser	3.7	1.2	5.6
Miscellaneous	22.5	19.2	25.2

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*Totals exceed 100 percent because several respondents had more than one course of training.

Education and Age

As might be expected, the educational attainment of older respondents was higher than that of the younger ones. Yet even among 20- and 21-year-olds, 6 percent had not gone beyond the 8th grade and 56 percent had not completed high school.

Table 5

EDUCATION OF RESPONDENT BY AGE

		Age					
	Total	16	17	18	19	20	21
Education 100% =	601	66	152	140	111	83	48
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
8th grade or less	7.5	19.7	7.2	7.1	2.7	6.0	6.2
9th grade	15.5	34.8	20.4	12.1	11.7	7.2	6.2
10th grade	28.6	34.8	45.4	21.3	18.9	26.5	14.6
11th grade	24.8	10.6	23.0	29.8	31.5	19.3	29.2
12th grade	21.8	0.0	3.9	29.1	31.5	36.1	39.6
Some college or trade school	1.8	0.0	0.0	0.7	3.6	4.8	4.2

Respondent's Region of Birth

Slightly more than half (56 percent) of all respondents were born in New York City. Thirty-three percent were born in the South Atlantic states and 4 percent were born in other Southern states (East and West South Central). Three percent were born in the Middle Atlantic states, excluding New York City, and 3 percent were born in the West Indies.

A much higher percentage of respondents interviewed at JOIN (51 percent) were born outside of New York City than were the HARYOU-Act respondents (27 percent). This difference undoubtedly reflects differences in the growth and age of the respective ghettos. Detailed results are as follows.

Table 6

U.S. CENSUS REGION IN WHICH RESPONDENTS WERE BORN

Region	Total 601=100%	JOIN 434=100%	HARYOU 167=100%
	%	%	%
New York City	55.7	49.1	73.1
All other	44.3%	50.9=100%	26.9=100%
New England	0.0	0.0	0.0
Mid-Atlantic (excluding New York)	2.8	6.3	6.7
East-West North Central	1.5	3.6	2.2
South Atlantic	32.6	71.9	82.2
East-West South Central	3.7	9.1	4.4
Mountain/Pacific	0.2	0.5	0.0
Puerto Rico	0.2	0.5	0.0
West Indies	2.8	6.8	4.4
All other	0.5	1.4	0.0

Population of Place of Birth

Thirty-five percent of all respondents not born in New York City were born in localities whose population was 5,000 or less and 47 percent were born in localities with populations of less than 10,000. JOIN, in addition to producing more respondents born outside of New York City, also produced higher percentages of respondents born in small towns.

Table 7

POPULATION SIZE OF RESPONDENTS' PLACE OF BIRTH

Population	Total 601=100%	JOIN 434=100%	HARYOU 167=100%
	%	%	%
New York City	55.7	49.1	73.1
All other 1,000,000 and over	1.5	1.8	0.6
SUBTOTAL	57.2	50.9	73.7
Less than 1,000,000	42.8	49.1	26.3
Under 5,000	15.0	18.0	7.0
5,001-10,000	5.0	6.2	1.8
10,001-25,000	4.7	5.3	3.0
SUBTOTAL	24.7	29.5	11.8
25,001-50,000	2.5	3.2	0.6
50,001-100,000	4.8	4.6	5.3
100,001-500,000	4.9	4.8	4.8
500,001-1,000,000	2.0	2.5	0.6
SUBTOTAL	14.2	15.1	11.3
Don't know/no answer	4.0	4.4	3.0

Place of Birth of Respondents--Size of City Within Region

Fourteen percent of all respondents (41 percent of those born in the South) were born in Southern towns with populations of less than 5,000, and 19 percent were born in Southern towns of less than 10,000. Twenty-three percent were born in such towns of less than 25,000. More JOIN than HARYOU-Act respondents, as expected, tended to be born in smaller towns.

Table 8

POPULATION SIZE OF PLACE OF BIRTH FOR RESPONDENTS BORN IN THE SOUTH

Birthplace	Total 601=100%			JOIN 434=100%			HARYOU 167=100%		
		%			%			%	
Other than U.S. South	394	65.6		263	60.6		131	78.4	
Southern states	207	34.4-100%		171	39.4=100%		36	21.6=100%	
5,000 or less		14.0	40.6		16.6	42.1		7.2	33.3
5,001-10,000		4.7	13.5		5.8	14.6		1.8	8.5
10,001-25,000		4.3	12.6		5.1	12.9		2.4	11.1
25,001-50,000		2.5	7.2		3.2	8.2		0.6	2.8
50,001-100,000		4.0	11.6		3.7	9.4		4.8	22.2
100,001-500,000		3.7	10.6		3.5	8.8		4.2	19.4
500,001-1,000,000		1.3	3.9		1.6	4.1		0.6	2.8
1,000,001 and over		---	---		---	---		---	---

Grade Level at Which Respondents Left School, by Place of Birth

Previous analysis has indicated that a high percentage of respondents dropped out of school at each grade level, and less than a quarter completed high school. They indicate, in addition, that a large proportion of the respondents were born in the South, and in smaller communities. In order to test the hypothesis that school leaving is related to place of birth or to moving into New York City, an analysis of grade level of school completions was undertaken by place of birth.

The results indicated that respondents born in New York City had the lowest percentage completing high school (19 percent) of any major place of birth and that 30 percent of respondents born in the South and 37 percent of respondents born in towns under 25,000 completed high school.

Among respondents born in New York City, 54 percent dropped out before completing the 11th grade as compared with percentage levels of 50 percent among respondents born in the South and 46 percent born in cities with populations of less than 25,000. (See Table 9, page 74.)

SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS OF RESPONDENTS' FAMILIES

Place of Birth of Respondents' Parents

While over a half (56 percent) of respondents were born in New York City, only 11 percent of both their mothers and fathers were born in New York City. As expected, a somewhat

Table 9

GRADE LEVEL AT WHICH RESPONDENTS DROPPED OUT OF SCHOOL, BY PLACE OF BIRTH

	Total Sample		New York City		The South		Cities of 25,000 and less	
100% =	601		335		218		148	
Grade Last Completed	%	%Cum	%	%Cum	%	%Cum	%	%Cum
8th	7.5	7.5	7.5	7.5	7.3	7.3	8.1	8.1
9th	15.5	23.0	14.6	22.1	18.3	25.6	16.2	24.3
10th	28.6	51.6	31.6	53.7	24.8	50.4	21.6	45.9
11th	24.8	76.4	27.8	81.5	19.7	70.1	17.0	62.9
12th or more	23.6	100.0	18.5	100.0	29.8	99.9	37.2	100.1

higher percent of the parents of HARYOU-Act respondents' parents were born in New York City than those of the JOIN respondents.

Seventy percent of all mothers and 62 percent of all fathers were born in the South. Approximately 20 percent of all mothers and fathers were born in towns of less than 5,000, 25 percent in towns of less than 10,000, and approximately a third were born in cities of less than 25,000. Parents of HARYOU-Act respondents tended to come from larger towns. (See Tables 10 and 11, pages 75-78.)

Occupation of Male Head of Household

There were 519 respondents (86 percent of the total sample) living with a family in which some adult other than the respondent was the head. In almost half of the families (43 percent) having a head of house other than the

Table 10

RESPONDENTS' FATHERS' PLACE OF ORIGIN BY POPULATION

Where Born	Total 601=100%		JOIN 434=100%		HARYOU 167=100%	
		%		%		%
New York City	68	11.3	43	9.9	25	15.0
Elsewhere	533	88.7	391	90.1	142	85.0

Population	Total 601=100%	JOIN 434=100%	HARYOU 167=100%
	%	%	%
New York City	11.3	9.9	15.0
All other 1,000,000 & over	1.3	0.9	2.4
5,000 or less	20.3	22.6	14.4
5,001-10,000	3.7	4.6	1.2
10,001-25,000	7.5	7.8	6.6
25,001-50,000	3.5	3.9	2.4
50,001-100,000	6.2	4.6	10.2
100,001-500,000	5.7	4.8	7.8
500,001-1,000,000	1.7	1.8	1.2
Dont' know/no answer	38.9	38.9	38.9

respondent, there was no male head of household and in 57 percent there was one. Over half of all respondents living in families with a male head of household had an unemployed male head of household.

Among those working, operatives (27 percent) and service workers (23 percent) comprised the majority. Craftsmen (16 percent) and laborers (11 percent) ranked third and fourth

Table 10A

RESPONDENTS' FATHERS' PLACE OF ORIGIN BY REGION

Census Region	Total 601=100%	JOIN 434=100%	HARYOU 167=100%
	%	%	%
New York City	11.3	9.9	15.0
All others	88.7	90.1	85.0
New England	0.5	0.5	0.6
Mid-Atlantic (excluding N.Y.)	2.3	2.1	3.0
East-West North Central	1.3	0.9	2.4
South Atlantic	55.4	56.9	51.5
East-West South Central	6.1	6.9	4.2
Mountain/Pacific	0.2	0.2	0.0
Puerto Rico	0.7	0.9	0.0
West Indies	5.3	5.8	4.2
Other	0.7	0.6	0.7
Don't know	16.2	15.3	18.5

in frequency. White-collar workers, whether professional, technical, and managerial (1 percent), sales (2 percent), or clerical (9 percent), comprised 12 percent of the total employed heads of households, of which 3 out of 4 were clerical workers. The JOIN and HARYOU-Act respondents were different only in that the JOIN group reported a higher percentage of craftsmen and operatives and a lower percentage of service workers. (See Table 12, page 79.)

Table 11

RESPONDENTS' MOTHERS' PLACE OF ORIGIN BY POPULATION

Where Born	Total 601=100%		JOIN 434=100%		HARYOU 167=100%	
		%		%		%
New York City	68	11.3	44	10.1	24	14.4
Elsewhere	533	88.7	390	89.9	143	85.6

Population	Total 601=100%	JOIN 434=100%	HARYOU 167=100%
	%	%	%
New York City	11.3	10.1	14.4
All other 1,000,000 & over	1.5	1.9	0.6
5,000 or less	22.5	25.1	15.6
5,001-10,000	4.8	5.1	4.2
10,001-25,000	9.2	9.7	7.8
25,001-50,000	2.8	3.7	0.6
50,001-100,000	8.0	5.5	14.4
100,001-500,000	7.7	6.9	9.6
500,001-1,000,000	2.5	2.5	2.4
Don't know/no answer	29.8	29.5	30.5

Occupation of Female Head of Household*

Eighty-one percent of all respondents lived in a family in which there was an adult female head of the household and

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*By female head of house is meant the senior female in the house, which includes women with and without husbands. The term is not used to mean that there is no male head of house present, although this may occur.

Table 11A

RESPONDENTS' MOTHERS' PLACE OF ORIGIN BY REGION

Census Region	Total 601=100%	JOIN 434=100%	HARYOU 167=100%
	%	%	%
New York City	11.3	10.1	14.4
All others	88.7	89.9	85.6
New England	0.2	0.0	0.6
Mid-Atlantic (excluding N.Y.)	3.2	3.2	3.0
East-West North Central	1.0	1.2	0.6
South Atlantic	63.6	63.8	62.9
East-West South Central	6.7	6.7	6.6
Mountain/Pacific	0.0	0.0	0.0
Puerto Rico	0.5	0.7	0.0
West Indies	4.0	4.4	3.0
Other	0.5	0.7	0.0
Don't know	9.0	9.2	9.0

36 percent of all families included an employed female head of household. Among these, 39 percent were service workers; 15 percent were operatives; 14 percent were professional, technical, or managerial workers (including 10 percent who were ambiguously dubbed "nurses" by respondents); and 13 percent were clerical workers. The HARYOU-Act group produced higher percentages of service and clerical workers than did the JOIN sample, while the JOIN group produced slightly higher percentages of operatives and laborers. (See Table 13, page 80.)

Table 12

OCCUPATION OF MALE HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD BY CENTER

	Total 601=100%			JOIN 434=100%			HARYOU 167=100%		
		%			%			%	
Not living in family	82	13.6		59	15.6		23	13.8	
Respondent lives in family	519	86.4=100%		375	86.4=100%		144	86.2=100%	
No male head of house	221	36.8	42.6	159	36.6	42.4	62	37.1	43.1
Male head of house	298	49.6	57.4	216	49.8	57.6	82	49.1	56.9
Not working	170	28.3	32.8	123	28.3	32.8	47	28.1	32.6
Working	128	21.3	24.7	93	21.4	24.8	35	21.0	24.3

Occupation of Working Male Head of Household

	128=100%	93=100%	35=100%
Professional, technical, managerial	2.7	2.7	2.8
Clerical	9.3	8.6	11.1
Sales	1.6	1.6	1.4
Skilled workers/ craftsmen	15.9	18.3	9.7
Operatives	27.1	29.0	22.2
Service workers	22.5	17.2	36.1
Laborers	11.2	11.3	11.1
Don't know	9.3	10.8	5.6
No answer	0.4	0.5	---

Table 13

OCCUPATION OF FEMALE HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD BY CENTER

	Total 601=100%			JOIN 434=100%			HARYOU 167=100%		
		%			%			%	
Not living in family	82	13.6		59	13.6		23	13.8	
Respondent lives in family	519	86.4=100%		375	86.4=100%		144	86.2=100%	
No female head of house	35	5.8	6.7	28	6.4	7.5	7	4.2	4.9
Female head of house	484	80.5	93.3	347	80.0	92.5	137	82.0	95.1
Not working	265	44.1	51.1	195	44.9	52.0	70	41.9	48.6
Working	219	36.4	42.2	152	35.0	40.5	67	40.1	46.5

Occupation of Female Head of Household

	219=100%	152=100%	67=100%
Professional, technical, managerial*	13.7	14.5	11.9
Clerical	13.2	11.8	16.4
Sales	1.8	1.3	3.0
Skilled workers/ craftsmen	1.8	2.0	1.5
Operatives	14.6	15.8	11.9
Service workers	39.3	36.2	46.3
Laborers	9.1	10.5	6.0
Don't know	5.9	7.2	3.0
No answer	0.5	0.7	---

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*Includes nurses (ambiguity of definition of nurses and nurses' aides may account for the large number of professionals.

Earned Family Income

Three hundred fifty-one respondents living at home were able to report the total earned income of their families (excluding welfare payments). Thirty-two percent of all families reporting income had no earned income, and 50 percent had reported income of less than $65 a week. The percentage of families with no earned income was substantially higher in the JOIN sample (35 percent) than in the HARYOU-Act sample (24 percent). The median income was $65 in the JOIN sample as compared to $80 in the HARYOU-Act sample. (See Table 14, page 82.)

Earned Income of Male Head of Household

Two hundred fifty-eight respondents (43 percent) lived in families where there was a working male head of household. One hundred sixty-two respondents allegedly knew the income of the male head of house. The median income reported was $88 per week. Seventeen percent of those reporting indicated an income of $65 or less per week and slightly over a fourth reported income of $75 or less. Three-quarters reported incomes of less than $115 per week.

The median reported earned income of the male head of household in the JOIN families was $88 per week compared with $100 per week for the HARYOU-Act sample. The percentages earning $65 per week or less in the two samples was not substantially different. However, 28 percent of the Bedford-Stuyvesant family heads earned between $65 and $85 per week as compared with 16 percent for the HARYOU-Act sample. A

Table 14

EARNED WEEKLY INCOME OF RESPONDENTS' FAMILIES

	Total 601=100%	JOIN 434=100%	HARYOU 167=100%
	%	%	%
Not living in family	13.6	13.6	13.8
Living with family	86.4	86.4	86.2
Family income unknown	28.0	28.1	27.5
Total families with income reported	351 58.4 = 100%	253 58.3 = 100%	98 58.7 = 100%
Earnings Per Week			
No earned family income	31.6	34.8	23.5
$45 or less	3.4	2.4	6.1
$46-55	5.4	4.7	7.1
$56-65	9.4	9.1	10.2
$66-75	5.7	7.1	2.0
$76-85	5.1	5.5	4.1
$86-95	4.3	4.0	5.1
$96-105	4.8	5.5	3.1
$106-125	6.6	4.3	12.1
$126-145	6.0	6.7	4.1
$146-165	3.7	5.1	---
$166-185	3.7	2.8	6.1
$186-205	2.6	2.4	3.1
$206 or more	7.7	5.5	13.3
Median	$66	$65	$80

substantially higher percentage of male heads in the HARYOU-Act sample earned between $96 and $125 per week (41 percent) than did the JOIN sample (24 percent).

Table 15

INCOME OF MALE HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD BY CENTER

	Total		JOIN		HARYOU	
	601=100%		434=100%		167=100%	
		%		%		%
Working male in house	258	42.9	186	42.9	72	43.1
Don't know	96	16.0	68	15.7	28	16.8
Income of male head of house	162	26.9 = 100%	118	27.2 = 100%	44	26.3 = 100%
$45 or less		1.9		0.8		4.5
$46-55		5.6		6.8		2.3
$56-65		9.9		10.2		9.1
$66-75		9.3		11.0		4.5
$76-85		15.4		16.9		11.4
$86-95		11.1		11.9		9.1
$96-105		13.6		12.7		15.9
$106-125		14.8		11.0		25.0
$126-145		4.9		4.2		6.8
$146-165		6.2		6.8		4.5
$166 plus		7.4		7.6		6.8
Median		$88		$88		$100

Weekly Earned Income of Working Female Heads of Household

There were 219 employed female heads of household in the entire sample (36 percent of the total). Respondents were able to report the income of 137 of these. The median reported earned income of the total sample of working female heads of households was $64 per week. Over 25 percent earned $55 per week or less, and less than a quarter (23 percent) earned more than $75 per week. The JOIN female working heads of household had a median income of $62 per week as compared with a median of $65 for HARYOU-Act females. (See Table 16, page 85.)

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Table 16

INCOME OF FEMALE HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD BY CENTER

	Total 601=100%		JOIN 434=100%		HARYOU 167=100%	
		%		%		%
Working female head in household	219	36.4	152	35.0	67	40.1
Income not known	82	13.6	66	15.2	16	9.6
Income of female head of house	137	22.8 = 100%	86	19.8 = 100%	51	30.5 = 100%
$45 or less		5.1		3.5		7.8
$46-55		21.9		26.7		13.7
$56-65		30.7		32.6		27.4
$66-75		19.0		18.6		19.6
$76-85		7.3		8.1		5.9
$86-95		7.3		5.8		9.8
$96-105		2.2		1.2		3.9
$106-125		2.9		1.2		5.9
$126-145		2.2		2.3		2.0
$146-165		0.7		---		2.0
$166 plus		0.7		---		2.0
Median		$64		$62		$65

Chapter IV

FAMILY BACKGROUND AND ATTITUDES

RESPONDENT'S FAMILY COMPOSITION

Nearly 5 percent of the respondents were married, and 9 percent were living alone or rooming with friends, the remainder (86 percent) were living in some kind of family with older adults or parents. A fourth of the respondents (24 percent) were living with both parents. The remainder (62 percent of the total sample) had one or more parents absent from the household in which they lived.

This 62 percent consisted of the following family types: 29 percent lived with their mothers with no male head of house; 4 percent lived with their mother and a step- or foster father. Three percent lived with their fathers with no mother or stepmother in the family, and 2 percent lived with their fathers and a step- or foster mother. One percent lived with foster parents. Twenty-four percent lived in families in which the heads of families were older brothers, sisters, aunts, uncles, grandparents or other miscellaneous adults who were not parents.

In sum, 61 percent were living in households with one or more real parents; and a total of 24 percent were living without parents, excluding those who were married or living alone. Fifty-three percent were living in families which did not include a male parent or a male step- or foster parent.

The JOIN respondents included a substantially higher percentage (28 percent) of the respondents than did the HARYOU-Act respondents (15 percent) who were living in families that included no parent or foster parents, i.e., miscellaneous relatives and elders. Slightly more HARYOU than JOIN respondents lived in a household with mother present.

Table 17

RESPONDENT'S FAMILY COMPOSITION

Respondent Living With:	Total 601=100%	JOIN 434=100%	HARYOU 167=100%
	%	%	%
Married, head of own family	4.5	4.1	5.4
Friends or alone	9.2	9.4	8.4
Both real parents	24.1	23.5	25.9
Mother only	29.1	27.7	32.9
Mother & foster/stepfather	3.7	3.2	4.8
Father only	2.8	1.8	5.4
Father & foster/stepmother	1.5	1.4	1.8
Foster parent(s) only	0.8	0.9	0.6
Miscellaneous elders, no parents	24.3	27.8	15.0
Subgroups:			
One or more real parents	61.2	57.6	70.8
No male parent (real, step or foster)	53.4	55.5	47.9

RESPONDENT'S AGE WHEN RESPONDENT WAS SEPARATED FROM HIS FATHER

There were 430 respondents who were not living with their real fathers; these comprised 71 percent of the total. Seven percent of these respondents had never lived with their fathers; another 19 percent had not lived with their real fathers since before the age of two. By the age of eight, 38 percent of these children not living with their father were no longer living with them and by the age of twelve, the percentage not living with their fathers reached 53 percent (38 percent of the total).

The HARYOU-Act respondents had a somewhat higher percentage (33 percent) of fathers "still at home" than did the JOIN respondents (27 percent); however, the real fathers of HARYOU-Act respondents tended to be separated from respondents at earlier ages than did those of the JOIN respondents. Forty-nine percent of the JOIN respondents were separated from their fathers by the time the respondent was thirteen years of age as compared with 64 percent of the HARYOU-Act respondents. (See Table 18, page 89.)

AGE RESPONDENT WAS SEPARATED FROM HIS MOTHER

Forty-three percent of all respondents were not living with their real mothers. Five percent of these had never lived with their real mothers, and another 6 percent had not lived with their mothers by the age of two. By the age of nine, 18 percent were not living with their mother; this percentage reached 27 percent by the age of thirteen.

Table 18

AGE OF RESPONDENT WHEN RESPONDENT WAS SEPARATED FROM HIS FATHER

	Total		JOIN		HARYOU	
	601=100%		434=100%		167=100%	
Father (real) still in home	171	28.6	117	27.0	55	32.9
Father (real) not in home	430	71.4=100%	317	73.0=100%	112	67.1=100%
Age of Separation						
Never lived together		6.8		6.0		8.9
2 years or less		11.7		10.7		14.3
3-4 years		7.5		6.9		8.9
5-8 years		11.9		11.6		12.5
9-12 years		14.9		13.3		19.6
13-16 years		18.7		20.2		14.3
17 years or older		25.6		28.7		17.0
Don't know		3.0		2.5		4.5

The percentage of respondents not living with their mother was significantly higher among JOIN respondents (45 percent) than it was among Harlem respondents (36 percent). In addition, greater percentages of mothers of JOIN respondents tended to be separated from respondents at earlier ages. Twenty-one percent of JOIN respondents were separated from their mothers at eight years of age versus 10 percent among HARYOU-Act respondents.

The respondents' family structure was cross tabulated with age in order to ascertain whether the absence of male

Table 19

AGE OF RESPONDENTS WHEN SEPARATED FROM HIS MOTHER

	Total	JOIN	HARYOU
	601=100%	434=100%	167=100%
Mother (real) still in home	345 57.4	238 54.8	87 64.1
Mother (real) not in home	256 42.6=100%	196 45.2=100%	80 35.9=100%
Age of Separation			
Never lived together	4.7	4.1	6.7
2 years or less	6.3	7.7	1.7
3-4 years	2.3	3.1	---
5-8 years	5.1	6.2	1.7
9-12 years	8.2	4.6	20.0
13-16 years	21.1	22.4	16.7
17 years or older	50.4	50.5	50.0
Don't know	2.0	1.5	3.3

heads of household was only a function of age of respondent, or whether there was a family impairment. The following categories showed increases in numbers as the age of respondent increased.

1. Living alone or with friends only

This group increases from 3 percent of the 16-year-old class to 16 percent of the 20- and 21-years-old groups.

2. Married

None of the 16- or 17-year-olds were married; 14 percent of the 20- and 21-year-olds were.

3. Foster families and miscellaneous situations without parents

This group increases from 11 percent of the 16-year-olds to 29 percent of the 20- and 21-year-olds.

The first two categories, living alone or with friends only, and married, probably reflect in their increase a normal shift in these age groups away from their families; the increase in the third group, for foster families and miscellaneous situations, probably reflects mortality rates and a continuing incidence of family impairment.

The following categories showed decreases in numbers as the age of respondent increased.

1. Living with both real parents

This group declines from 46 percent of the 16-year-olds to 19 percent of the 20- and 21-year-old group.

2. Living with real mother only (no foster or stepfather)

This group declines from 36 percent of the 16-year-old group to 18 percent of the 20- and 21-year-old groups.

If the categories are regrouped to produce another composite group - no fathers or other male heads of house - this group also shows an increase from 46 percent of the 16-year-old group to 58 percent of the 20- and 21-year-old group.

It could be argued on the basis of earlier tabulations that the high incidence of youths living without fathers, whether real or substitute, simply reflects both mortality rates and the natural tendency of youth of these general age levels to leave home. But we note that the proportion of youths living with real mothers only among 16-year-olds is very high (36 percent), as is the proportion of 16-year-old youths living with no male heads of house at all (46 percent). Thus, it appears that a high degree of family impairment exists over and above "normal" attrition rates for this age group.

Table 20

AGE AND FAMILY STRUCTURE

Family Structure		Age				
		16	17	18	19	20-21
	100%=	66	152	141	113	126
		%	%	%	%	%
Lives alone or with friends only		3.0	5.3	7.8	12.4	15.9
Married		---	---	2.1	5.3	14.3
Lives with both real parents		45.5	28.3	16.3	22.1	19.0
With real father & step, foster or no mother		3.0	4.6	4.3	5.3	1.6
Real mother only		36.4	38.8	27.7	26.5	18.3
Real mother & step or foster father		1.5	5.3	3.5	4.4	2.4
Foster parents & misc.		10.6	17.8	38.3	23.9	28.6
Subgroups:						
Real mother & step or foster, or no father		37.9	44.1	31.2	30.9	20.7
No fathers or other male heads of house		45.5	50.7	53.2	57.7	58.0

RESPONDENTS' ATTITUDE TOWARD THEIR FAMILIES

The demographic data on respondents' families indicate what have usually been called indices of family impairment. Thus, 29 percent of all respondents reported living in households with mother only, and 3 percent with father only. Thirty-eight percent have not lived with their fathers since before they were twelve years old.

Seven percent of the male heads of home were found to be unemployed. Thirty-two percent of the families had no earned family income; they depended on welfare payments, unemployment insurance, old age assistance and workmen's compensation for their subsistence; and the median family income was $65 per week for all families reported. Furthermore, only 24 percent of the respondents indicated that they were living with both real parents. Respondents were asked, in addition to the questions described above, a series of questions about attitudes to their families and family relations, which, in part, measure the subjective perception of their family relations.

Family Arguments

Seventy-six percent of all respondents living in families said "no" when asked, "Are there many arguments in your family?" There was no differences in the response between HARYOU-Act and JOIN respondents. Among the 24 percent reporting arguments, half reported that the arguments focused upon themselves.

Respondents' Opinion of Their Family Relations

Forty-seven percent of respondents reported that the members of their family get along with each other very well, 49 percent get along fairly well, and 4 percent not so well. A higher percentage of HARYOU-Act respondents reported getting along very well (56 percent) than did JOIN respondents (43 percent). The HARYOU-Act group reported a higher percentage getting along fairly well (53 percent) versus 49 percent for JOIN.

Time Spent Together by Members of Respondent's Family

Respondents were asked, "When your family has some free time do they usually spend it together or do they usually do things separately?" Two-thirds of the respondents (67 percent) reported spending their free time together, and 30 percent reported spending the time separately. Two percent said both. A much higher percentage of JOIN than HARYOU-Act respondents reported spending time together with their families.

Table 21

WAYS IN WHICH RESPONDENTS' FAMILIES SPEND THEIR FREE TIME

Living with Family	Total 519=100%	JOIN 375=100%	HARYOU 144=100%
Spend it together	67.4	72.3	54.9
Separately	29.5	24.5	42.4
Both	1.9	2.4	0.7
No answer	1.2	0.8	2.1

Respondents Asking Advice of Their Families

Over two-thirds (68 percent) of all respondents reported asking advice from their families; 31 percent said they did not ask advice. The mother was the chief person asked by respondents (52 percent). Fathers ranked second (27 percent) followed by aunts and grandmothers (13 percent), sisters (11 percent), brothers (11 percent), and uncles and grandfathers (8 percent). Seventy-six percent asked females for advice and 46 percent asked males. Total response exceeds 100 percent because more than one source of advice was reported. The higher frequency of females undoubtedly reflects the greater presence of older females than of males in respondents' families.

A higher percentage of JOIN respondents reported asking advice of mothers (54 percent) than did HARYOU-Act respondents (47 percent). Among HARYOU-Act respondents, fathers and aunts or grandmothers were slightly (but not significantly) favored. (See Table 22, page 96.)

Advice Asked

The primary problems for which advice was sought was "about getting a job," mentioned by 54 percent of those so asking. Education (26 percent), personal things, such as girls, sex, friends, and recreation (20 percent) were mentioned next most frequently. Money problems and getting married were also secondary problems for which advice was asked.

Table 22

RESPONDENTS ASKING ADVICE OF THEIR FAMILIES

Living with Family	Total 519=100%	JOIN 375=100%	HARYOU 144=100%
	%	%	%
Ask Advice			
Yes	68.2	68.3	68.1
No	30.6	30.9	29.9
No answer	1.2	0.8	2.1
Whom Asked			
Mother	52.3	54.3	46.9
Father	27.1	26.2	29.6
Aunts/grandmothers	12.7	11.3	16.3
Sisters/sister-in-law	11.3	12.1	9.2
Brothers/brother-in-law	11.0	11.7	9.2
Uncles/grandfathers	7.6	7.4	8.2
Cousins/others	3.1	2.3	5.1

---

* Totals exceed 100 percent because of multiple responses.

The JOIN respondents reported much more concern with getting advice about jobs and education than did the HARYOU-Act respondents. Personal things, "staying out of trouble," and advice on "how to do specific things" ranked relatively high among the HARYOU-Act respondents.

Table 23

PROBLEMS ADVICE IS ASKED ABOUT

Asking Advice of Their Families	Total 354=100%	JOIN 256=100%	HARYOU 98=100%
	%	%	%
Getting a job	54.0	61.7	33.7
My education	26.0	27.7	21.4
Personal things (girls, sex, friends, recreation)	19.8	18.1	23.5
About money problems	14.4	15.2	12.2
Getting married	11.3	13.3	6.1
What type of work to do	8.5	8.2	9.2
How to keep out of trouble	6.2	4.7	10.2
How to do specific things	4.8	3.1	9.2
Indefinite	4.5	4.7	4.1
Miscellaneous	3.1	1.6	7.1

---

* Totals exceed 100 percent because of multiple responses.

Presence of Family Problems

Respondents were asked, "Every family has certain problems - maybe sickness, money problems, problems about the apartment, problems about relatives, and other kinds of problems. Would you say your family has a lot of these problems, some, or hardly any?"

Twelve percent of all respondents living in families answered a lot; 38 percent said "some"; and 42 percent said "hardly any." The remainder said, "don't know." There were no major differences in response between the JOIN and the HARYOU-Act respondents. Seventy-one percent of all respondents who said their families had a lot or some problems said they get involved in trying to solve the problems. The major things they did were as follows:

Table 24

WHAT RESPONDENTS DO ABOUT FAMILY PROBLEMS

Respondents involved in family problems:	186=100%
Things Done to Help	%
Try to help financially	60.8
Give advice; discuss problems	16.7
Help around the house	14.0
Take care of things	5.9
Act as a go-between	3.2
Go along with things	2.7

---

* Totals exceed 100 percent because of multiple responses.

Those respondents who were involved with attempting to solve family problems were asked if their involvement interfered with getting or holding a job. Twenty-nine percent said "yes"; 71 percent said "no." Thirty-seven percent of the JOIN respondents and 9 percent of the HARYOU-Act respondents said "yes." The 29 percent who said "yes" represent 10 percent of all respondents who live in families.

Respondent's Unemployment as a Family Problem

Fifty-four percent of all respondents living in families reported that the fact of their not working as a problem to their families. Of these 45 percent said it was a big problem. The following major reasons for so saying were given. There were no major differences in response between the JOIN and HARYOU-Act groups.

Table 25

RESPONDENT'S UNEMPLOYMENT AS A MAJOR FAMILY PROBLEM

Youths reporting their unemployment as problem:	280=100%*
Reason	%
I have to help meet family expenses.	63.6
I need my own money.	21.1
They don't want me hanging around.	16.4
I don't want to get into trouble.	3.2

---

* Only principal reasons shown. Multiple responses total more than 100 percent.

Respondents were asked, "Does anybody give you a hard time because you're not working?" Just over one-fourth of the respondents (28 percent) answered "yes" to this question. Mothers were mentioned most frequently (by 52 percent of the respondents); fathers next (by 25 percent).

Respondents were also asked, "What do these people say?" The most frequent responses were: "get a job" (45 percent), and "stop hanging around (21 percent); the need to help with family expenses was mentioned by 14 percent. Results follow in Table 26, page 101.

Respondents were also asked whether they worried about not having a job, how much they worried, and the objects of their worries. Eighty-five percent indicated that they do worry about not having a job; of these half (50 percent) said they worried a lot. The most commonly mentioned object of their worries was money for basic needs (67 percent); family needs for money were mentioned by 21 percent, and worry about doing nothing was mentioned by 16 percent. (See Table 27, page 102.)

Table 26

RESPONSES TO THE QUESTION: "DOES ANYBODY GIVE YOU A HARD TIME BECAUSE YOU'RE NOT WORKING?"

	Total	
	601=100%	
Working (full time)	18	3.0
Not working (full time)	583	97.0
"Does anybody give you a hard time...?"	583=100%	
Yes		27.6
No		72.4
"Who is that?"	161=100%*	
Mother		52.2
Father		25.5
Sister		10.6
Aunt/grandmother		8.3
Brother		5.0
Cousin/other relative		3.1
Wife		2.5
Uncle/grandfather		1.2
Miscellaneous		12.4
"What do they say?"	161=100%*	
Get a job		44.7
Stop hanging around		20.5
Want help with family expenses		14.3
No work, no spending money		13.7
I'm a bum; no good		12.4
Miscellaneous		4.3

---

* Multiple responses exceed 100 percent.

Table 27

RESPONSES TO THE QUESTION: "WHEN YOU'RE NOT WORKING, DO YOU WORRY ABOUT NOT HAVING A JOB?"

"Do you worry about not having a job?"	601=100%
Yes	84.9
No	14.5
Don't know	0.7
"Do you worry a lot, some, or a little?"	549=100%
A lot	50.2
Some	37.6
A little	12.2
"What do you worry about?"	510=100%*
Money for basic needs	67.4
Family needs money	21.2
Worry about doing nothing	15.5
What to do with my life	7.6
I want to feel more independent	7.3
Spending money for amusement	5.5
Miscellaneous	7.5

---

* Multiple responses exceed 100 percent.

Chapter V

RESPONDENTS' CONTACT WITH CENTERS

Knowledge of the JOIN or HARYOU-Act job centers came primarily through personal contacts rather than through mass media or through advising by officials or trained professionals. Fifty-two percent named "friends" as the source of their knowledge and 23 percent named relatives. Radio (7 percent), newspapers (6 percent), television (5 percent) and posters and pamphlets (1 percent) lagged far behind personal contacts. This does not, however, preclude the possibility that the friends or relatives heard of the centers directly or indirectly via the mass media.

"Passing by" was mentioned by 7 percent of all respondents. However, almost all of these were drawn from the JOIN center (8 percent of its sample) whose location and exterior design serves as an advertisement, while 2 percent of HARYOU-Act respondents said "passing by." Social workers (6 percent), school officials (3 percent), probation officers (3 percent), and employment agencies (1 percent) were the "official" sources of information.

Slightly higher percentages of respondents from HARYOU-Act than JOIN heard of that center from friends (59 percent). Relatives were more frequent sources to JOIN respondents (24 percent versus 19 percent).

Table 28

HOW RESPONDENT HEARD OF INTAKE CENTER

Source*	Total 601=100%	JOIN 434=100%	HARYOU 167=100%
	%	%	%
Friends, relatives	74.8	73.7	77.9
Friends	52.2	49.5	59.3
Relatives	22.6	24.2	18.6
Radio, TV, newspapers, posters	19.7	15.9	30.0
Social workers, agency, school official, probation officer	12.0	12.7	10.2
Miscellaneous sources	3.8	3.5	4.8
No answer	1.3	1.8	0.0

---

* Responses exceed 100 percent because of multiple answers.

REASONS FOR COMING TO THE INTAKE CENTER

Respondents were asked if they had come to the center "mostly for the money the would earn by working, mostly for training or both." Thirty-one percent said mostly for money; 22 percent said mostly for the training; and 45 percent said both. There were no differences in response between the JOIN and HARYOU-Act groups. (See Table 29, page 105.)

THE RESPONDENTS' FAMILY AS A FACTOR IN THE DECISION TO SEEK WORK AT THE INTAKE CENTER

Eighty-five percent of all respondents living in a family said that they told their family that they were going

Table 29

PRINCIPAL REASONS FOR COMING TO INTAKE CENTER

Reason	Total 601=100%	JOIN 434=100%	HARYOU 167=100%
	%	%	%
Mostly for money	31.1	31.3	30.5
Mostly for training	21.8	22.1	21.0
Both money and training	45.4	44.5	47.9
Other reasons	1.7	2.1	0.6

(Job Corps was mentioned by 4 percent of the above.)

to the center. Ninety percent of those who told their family reported that their family thought it was a good idea. Six percent replied that their family thought it was a waste of time, and 5 percent reported no response from their family.

While somewhat higher percentages of JOIN respondents (88 percent) than HARYOU-Act respondents (79 percent) reported discussing seeking work or training at the respective centers, a slightly higher percentage of HARYOU-Act respondents (95 percent) than JOIN respondents (88 percent) said their family approved. (See Table 30, page 106.)

THE ROLE OF PEER GROUPS IN THE DECISION TO SEEK WORK AND/OR TRAINING AT THE JOB CENTERS

Fifty-eight percent of all respondents said they had told their close friends that they were planning to come to the center. Of these, 71 percent reported that their

Table 30

FAMILY VIEWS OF THE INTAKE CENTERS

A. Response to the question, "When you decided to come to the center, did you tell your family you were coming?"

	Total	JOIN	HARYOU
	601=100%	434=100%	167=100%
Not living with family	82	59	23
Living with family	519=100%	375=100%	145=100%
Responses	%	%	%
Yes	85.4	87.7	79.2
No	13.7	11.5	19.4
No answer	1.0	0.8	1.4

B. Response to the question, "Did they think it was a good idea for you to come here or did they think it was a waste of time?"

	Total	JOIN	HARYOU
Those that answered "yes"	85.4%=100%	87.7%=100%	79.2%=100%
	%	%	%
Good idea	89.8	88.1	94.7
Waste of time	5.6	7.0	1.8
Didn't say	4.5	4.9	3.5

friends thought it was a good idea. Eighteen percent said that their friends considered it a waste of time, and 11 percent didn't say.

When they went to the center, 68 percent went alone; 19 percent went with friends; 7 percent went with brothers or cousins, and 6 percent went with older relatives. Among those who did not go with friends, 46 percent had friends who had applied at the center at other times. Forty percent had no such friends, and 14 percent did not know. However, 33 percent of those who came to the center alone or with relatives but no friends said they had friends who were planning to apply at the center; 33 percent were not planning; and 34 percent did not know about their friends' plans.

Taking all of these responses together, 63 percent either applied with friends, had friends who applied at other times, or reported that their friends were planning to apply. Another 10 percent applied at the recommendation of their friends, and another 5 percent, when they informed their friends that they were applying to the centers, were told that it was a good idea.

Thus, friends were affirmatively involved in some way with 78 percent of those who came to the centers. Two percent of all respondents had friends who were definitely opposed to going to the center, and friends were not involved in the decision of 20 percent of the respondents. It thus appears that the decision to apply for work at a center is strongly influenced by peers.

ANALYSIS OF REASONS FOR COMING TO CENTER

Somewhat higher percentages of respondents who had been out of school less than six months said they came to the center "mostly for money" than did those who had been out of school for more than six months. Conversely, higher percentages of those who had been out of school longer than six months came mostly for training. Thus, it appears that some respondents feel that their high-school training and their job experience since high school does not qualify them for the job market. Gaining job training and re-training may compensate for these felt deficiencies. Those who have been out of school for shorter periods of time may not yet have fully experienced their defiencies on the job market and are less interested in training.

Table 31

REASONS FOR COMING TO INTAKE CENTER BY LENGTH OF TIME OUT OF SCHOOL

	Total	Up to 1 mo.	1-6 mos.	6-12 mos.	1-2 yrs.	3 yrs. & over
100% =	601	85	114	136	99	167
Reasons	%	%	%	%	%	%
Mostly for money	31.1	34.1	35.1	30.9	30.3	27.5
Mostly for training	21.8	17.6	18.4	21.3	22.2	26.3
For both	45.4	48.2	44.7	46.3	44.4	44.3
Other, don't know	1.7	---	1.8	1.5	3.0	1.8

SALARY NEEDED IN 5-10 YEARS

Respondents who came to the center mostly for training estimated the median salary needed in 5-10 years to support themselves and a family with two children was $123 per week as compared with an estimate of $146 among those who came

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for money and $136 among those who came both for money and training. Thus, those who came for money had estimated their future needs to be higher, while those who came for training may have a more realistic image of the adult jobs available to them or their parents.

Table 32

REASONS FOR COMING TO CENTER BY SALARY NEEDED
TO SUPPORT A FAMILY IN 5 - 10 YEARS

Salary Needed	Total* 591=100%	Money 187=100%	Training 131=100%	Both 273=100%
	%	%	%	%
$85 or less	6.3	3.7	9.9	5.7
$86-95	7.2	5.8	6.9	8.1
$96-105	15.6	13.9	11.5	19.4
$106-125	13.6	12.8	21.4	10.0
$126-165	21.5	23.0	22.9	20.1
$166-205	26.5	29.4	19.1	27.8
$206 +	6.2	8.0	3.8	6.2
Don't know/no answer	3.2	3.2	4.6	2.6

---

* Excludes 10 respondents who said "don't know" or did not answer the question as to why they came to the center.

However, respondents who came to the center mostly for training appeared to have higher mobility aspiration in the sense that 83 percent of that group wanted to live in different neighborhoods 5-10 years from now, as compared with a level of 65 percent among those who came mostly for money, and a level of 72 percent in the "both" group.

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Table 33

REASONS FOR COMING TO THE CENTER BY DESIRE TO LIVE IN A DIFFERENT NEIGHBORHOOD 5-10 YEARS FROM NOW

Want to Live in Different Neighborhood in 5-10 Yrs.	Total* 591=100%	Money 187=100%	Training 131=100%	Both 273=100%
	%	%	%	%
Yes	72.5	65.2	83.2	72.2
No	20.6	27.3	11.5	20.5
Don't know	6.8	7.5	5.3	7.3

---

* Excludes 10 respondents who said "don't know" or did not answer question as to why they came to center.

REASONS FOR COMING TO CENTER BY ULTIMATE JOB ASPIRATION

Strangely enough, higher percentages of respondents who said they came mostly for training aspired to jobs as skilled craftsmen than as professional, technical or managerial workers, while the reverse is true among those who came mostly for money. This appears to contradict the notion that those who came for training are more oriented to mobility. One can speculate, however, that those who came to the center for training did not expect the center to provide administrative, technical, or professional training. Those who came for money may be less realistic in this regard as they are in other areas. (See Table 34, page 111.)

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Table 34

REASONS FOR COMING TO CENTER BY OCCUPATIONAL CHOICE

Job Desired for Rest of Life	Total* 601=100%	Money* 187=100%	Training* 131=100%	Both* 273=100%
	%	%	%	%
Professional, technical, managerial	33.8	36.4	22.9	37.0
Clerical	12.3	15.5	10.7	10.6
Sales	1.8	2.1	2.3	1.5
Skilled workers, craftsmen	35.8	29.4	44.3	36.3
Operatives	5.3	4.3	4.6	6.6
Service workers	11.5	11.2	13.7	11.0
Laborers	3.3	6.4	3.1	1.1
Don't know/no answer	2.7	2.1	2.3	2.6

---

* May exceed 100 percent due to multiple answers. Also, total of 601 includes 10 respondents not shown who said don't know or did not answer question as to why they came to center.

KINDS OF TRAINING EXPECTED

Eighteen percent of all respondents who came to the centers "mostly for money" expected some kind of training to accompany the work they hoped to get at the center. Those who expected some kind of training were asked, "What kind of training do you expect to get?"

Training as skilled workers and craftsmen was expected by 42 percent of those who expected training; and 21 percent expected training in clerical work, typing, and office-machine operation. Twelve percent expected professional/technical training as engineers or draftsmen or as musicians, artists, actors, or waiters. Very few (1 percent) expected training as sales personnel.

Those who came to the center mostly for training and for both work and training expected training primarily for jobs as skilled workers/craftsmen (53 percent and 42 percent of these respective groups). Those who came mostly for money and expected some training, expected to be trained in clerical work and/or typing and in the operation of office machines (32 percent). In addition, 25 percent of those who came mostly for money expected training for jobs as skilled workers and craftsmen. Sixteen percent of those who came mostly for money and 13 percent of those who came for training and money did not know what type of training to expect. Among those who came for both training and work, training for clerical work and'or typing ranked second as the expected kind of training (by 22 percent of the total group). (See Table 35, page 113.)

KINDS OF JOB PLACEMENT EXPECTED

The principal kinds of jobs respondents expected to receive at the center were as skilled workers and craftsmen (auto-mechanics, electricians, electronics, carpenters, welders, etc.) and clerical jobs (clerks, typists, office-machine operators). Both types of work were mentioned by 27 percent of all respondents.

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Table 35

KINDS OF TRAINING EXPECTED

Kind of Training	Total 488=100%	Money 84=100%	Training 131=100%	Both 273=100%
	%	%	%	%
Professional/technical	11.7	8.3	11.5	12.8
Managerial, proprietor	0.6	---	0.8	0.7
Clerical, typing, office machines	21.3	32.1	13.7	22.2
Sales	1.4	---	0.8	2.2
Skilled workers, craftsmen	24.0	25.0	53.4	41.9
Operators	4.3	3.6	5.3	4.0
Domestics	---	---	---	---
Police	6.1	3.6	8.4	5.9
Services	7.4	10.7	6.9	6.6
Laborers	3.5	4.8	2.3	3.7
Don't know	11.1	15.5	5.3	12.5

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* Exceeds 100 percent due to multiple responses.

Thirteen percent expected work as laborers and 9 percent expected jobs as service workers. Fifteen percent expected no work at all, but rather expected full-time training. This group was drawn entirely from those who came mostly for training and comprised 25 percent of that group.

Among those who came mostly for training, the major kinds of work expected were as skilled workers and craftsmen (33 percent) with clerical and office work ranking second

(18 percent). No other type of work was mentioned by more than 7 percent of the group. Among those who came primarily for jobs, clerical/office work ranked first (36 percent) followed by work as laborers (25 percent) and skilled workers and craftsmen (19 percent). Fifteen percent expected work in the service occupations (cooks, janitors, porters, hospital aids, orderlies, etc.). Thus, those who came for training expected somewhat better jobs than those who came for money-producing jobs. But, for neither group were job expectations totally unrealistic.

Table 36

KINDS OF JOBS EXPECTED

Kind of Work	Total Expecting Work 460=100%	Applied Mostly for Work 187=100%	Applied for Work and Training 273=100%
Professional/technical	5.9	5.3	6.2
Managers, proprietors	---	---	---
Clerical, typing, office machines	27.0	35.7	17.5
Sales	1.3	0.5	1.8
Skilled workers/craftsmen	27.4	19.3	33.0
Operatives	5.2	5.3	5.1
Police	4.4	1.6	4.0
Service workers	9.3	14.5	5.1
Laborers	13.0	24.7	5.1
Don't know/no answer	7.2	8.5	6.2
No job assignment expected in initial phases	14.9	---	24.9

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* Responses exceed 100 percent because of multiple answers.

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INCOME EXPECTED FROM HOPED-FOR JOB OR TRAINING

The amount of income expected from the job they hoped to receive at the center varies with the respondent's view of that job as primarily for training or for money. The median expected income of those who thought of the job as mostly for money, was $63 per week. Among those who said both, the median was $55. Twenty-six percent of those who expected mostly training and 13 percent of those who said both work and training did not expect to get paid.

It must be noted that the expected income for all three groups exceeds the Neighborhood Youth Corps weekly pay, and the difference between expected pay and actual pay in the Neighborhood Youth Corps increases as the work expected, received or actual, becomes primarily oriented to immediate work rather than to training. Such differences between expectation and outcome may effect levels of recruitment, and possible problems in selection and turnover rates in the Neighborhood Youth Corps. (See Table 37, page 116.)

RESPONDENTS' EXPECTED USE OF MONEY EARNED IN JOBS OR FOR TRAINING THAT THEY HOPED TO GET AT THE CENTERS

Respondents were asked if the money they earned at the jobs or for training would be all theirs or would some be given to their family. Seventy-three percent said they would give some to their family; 16 percent said it would be "all mine;" 5 percent said "don't know." Among those who said they would give some to their family, 35 percent said they

Table 37

SALARIES EXPECTED BY APPLICANTS

Salary Expected	Total 586=100%	Money 187=100%	Training 127=100%	Both 272=100%
	%	%	%	%
No salary expected	11.4	---	26.0	12.5
$30 per month	2.7	---	11.8	0.4
Up to $30 per week	4.3	0.5	6.3	5.9
$30 per week	2.0	---	7.1	1.1
$31-35	1.2	1.1	0.8	1.5
$36-45	7.1	7.4	10.2	5.5
$46-55	17.6	17.7	10.3	21.0
$56-65	16.7	26.2	8.7	13.9
$66-75	13.0	18.7	5.5	12.5
$76-85	11.3	15.5	3.9	11.8
$86-95	1.5	1.1	---	2.6
$96 and over	2.9	3.7	---	3.7
Don't know	8.2	8.0	9.4	7.7
1st quartile	$39	$53	$00	$38
Median	$55	$63	$30	$55
3rd quartile	$70	$75	$50	$72

would give half; 22 percent said they would give more than half; 35 percent said they would give less than half; and 9 percent said "don't know." (See Table 38, page 117.)

Respondents were also asked how they would spend their money. Eighty-one percent said they would spend it on clothing, 38 percent on savings. Twenty percent said they

Table 38

USE OF MONEY EARNED AT JOB OR TRAINING

	601=100%
All mine	15.7
Some to family	73.4
Have no family	0.3
Don't know	4.5
No answer	6.2

would spend it on food; 12 percent mentioned rent; 18 percent mentioned entertainment and dates; and 5 percent mentioned supplies and tuition. While both HARYOU and JOIN respondents stressed clothing and saving, the JOIN respondents stressed food and rent more while the HARYOU respondents stressed entertainment and dates.

Table 39

HOW MONEY WILL BE SPENT

	Total* 601=100%	JOIN* 434=100%	HARYOU* 167=100%
Clothing	80.9	82.9	75.4
Savings	37.6	38.0	36.5
Food	20.3	24.2	10.2
Entertainment, dates	17.8	15.4	24.0
Rent	11.8	13.4	7.8
School supplies, tuition	5.2	4.8	6.0
Miscellaneous-major expenses	6.7	5.3	10.2
Miscellaneous-minor expenses	6.0	5.8	6.6
Carfare	3.7	3.5	4.2

---

* Results exceed 100 percent because of multiple answers.

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Chapter VI

RESPONDENTS' JOB ASPIRATIONS

Any program designed to provide training for youth depends on the ability of the program to attract youth and to develop consonance with the aspirations of youth. This chapter is designed to provide a profile of these aspirations.

Respondents were asked, "If you had your choice of the kind of work you would like to do for the rest of your life, what would you choose?" Thirty-six percent mentioned jobs as skilled workers and craftsmen (automobile mechanics, machinists, electricians, electronics, carpenters, welders, printers, radio and TV repairment, and other crafts); and 31 percent mentioned such professional/technical jobs as engineers, musicians, writers, artists, social workers, and teachers. Twelve percent aspired to clerical jobs, and 6 percent aspired to jobs as policemen.

Higher percentages of the HARYOU-Act group aspired to jobs as professionals and technicians than did the JOIN group. Higher percentages of the latter group aspired to jobs as skilled workers and craftsmen.

Table 40

RESPONDENTS' PREFERRED LIFE WORK

Kind of Work Respondents Would Choose for Rest of Their Lives	Total* 601=100%	JOIN 434=100%	HARYOU 167=100%
	%	%	%
Professional, technical	30.8	27.6	38.9
Managerial, proprietors	3.0	1.8	6.0
Clerical	12.3	11.8	13.8
Sales	1.8	1.8	1.8
Skilled workers/craftsmen	35.8	39.0	27.5
Operatives	5.3	5.1	6.0
Policemen	6.0	6.7	4.2
Service Workers	5.5	6.7	2.4
Laborers	3.3	4.4	0.6
Armed Service	0.7	0.2	1.8
Don't know/no answer	2.7	2.3	3.6

---

* Responses exceed 100 percent because of multiple answers.

RESPONDENTS' ESTIMATES OF THEIR CHANCES OF GETTING THE KINDS OF WORK THEY PREFER

Sixty-two percent of all respondents said they thought they have a very good or fairly good chance of getting the kind of job they choose. (Thirty percent replied "very good" and 32 percent "fairly good.") Sixteen percent replied "not so good" and 19 percent "don't know."

Those who thought their chances to be very good or fairly good mentioned the following reasons: they knew or

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were learning the work and could do it; they could do it with more training; their chosen field was wide open; and they liked the work.

Table 41

REASONS WHY RESPONDENTS BELIEVED THEY HAVE A VERY GOOD OR FAIRLY GOOD CHANCE OF GETTING THEIR PREFERRED KIND OF WORK

Reason Given	377=100%*
	%
"I know (or am learning) the work; can do it."	52.5
"If I get more training, I can better myself."	21.0
"I have determination; my mind is made up."	18.0
"I like the work itself."	14.9
"The field is large, wide open for Negroes."	16.4
Miscellaneous	15.4
Don't know/no answer	2.7

---

* Results exceed 100 percent because of multiple answers.

Respondents who said their chances were not so good cited as their reasons principally their lack of education, training, or experience. Thirteen percent cited, "I am a Negro." (See Table 42, page 121.)

RESPONDENTS' DISCUSSION OF JOB ASPIRATIONS WITH PARENTS

Respondents' job aspirations were not a source of conflict. Sixty-four percent of all respondents said they had discussed doing the chosen kind of work with parents, and 61 percent discussed it with their friends. Eighty-nine

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Table 42

REASONS WHY RESPONDENTS BELIEVED THEIR CHANCES OF GETTING THEIR CHOSEN JOB ARE NOT VERY GOOD

Reason Given	95=100%* %
"Lack of training, experience"	34.7
"Need more education"	22.1
"I am a Negro."	12.6
"No money for education"	9.5
"Been in jail"	4.2
"I'm not a good student."	9.5
"I don't know the right people."	5.3
"I have no initiative."	3.2
Miscellaneous	7.4
Don't know/no answer	2.1

---

* Results exceed 100 percent because of multiple answers.

percent of the respondents reported that their parents considered the preferred kind of work a good choice; 6 percent of parents were said to have called it a poor choice; and 5 percent said they didn't know. Seventy-eight percent of respondents reported that their friends considered the chosen work a good choice, and 8 percent considered it a poor choice. Fourteen percent replied "don't know." The principal reasons reported by friends and parents were substantially the same, except that friends were reported as stressing "pay" more than parents, while parents stressed liking for the job.

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Table 43

REASON FOR THINKING CHOSEN WORK IS A GOOD CHOICE BY PARENTS AND FRIENDS

Reason Given	Parents* 340=100%	Friends* 286=100%
	%	%
"They know I like it."	36.5	14.0
"It pays well."	25.3	33.2
"They feel I have training/talent for it."	23.3	20.7
"Good opportunity; future in it."	20.0	18.5
"Relative/friend does this kind of work."	6.2	19.2
"It's respectible."	5.6	2.4
"It's clean/easy work."	5.0	4.9
"It has security."	4.4	4.5
"I will learn something."	3.2	3.5
"It's better than doing nothing."	1.2	1.4
"It would be helpful to my parents."	0.9	---
Miscellaneous	6.2	9.1
No answer	0.9	0.3

---

* Multiple responses total more than 100 percent.

RESPONDENTS' WORRIES ABOUT THE FUTURE

Seventy-six percent of all respondents said they worried about the future (43 percent worried a lot and 33 percent a little); 21 percent said they either worried hardly at all (11 percent) or not at all (10 percent). Among those who said they worried, 71 percent said they worried about jobs. Those major job worries include worries about the kinds of job (28 percent), job security (44 percent), and a "job with good pay" (15 percent). Forty percent mentioned worrying about making enough money without directly linking the worry to a job. These worries included being able to support a family (26 percent) or themselves (11 percent).

Thirty-three percent worried about living conditions and their marital status. Eighteen percent worried about the kind of home or neighborhood they live in, and 15 percent worried about whether they will be married and have a family. Thirteen percent worried either about their own education (6 percent) or their children's education (7 percent). Ten percent worried whether they could ever make something of themselves, and 8 percent worried about "what's going to become of me."

Table 44

AMOUNT OF WORRYING ABOUT THE FUTURE

	Total 601=100%
Worry a lot	42.9
Worry a little	32.8
Subtotal reporting worry	75.7
Hardly worry	11.1
No worry	10.3
Subtotal little or no worry	21.4
Don't know	2.8

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Table 45

THINGS WORRIED ABOUT BY THOSE WHO WORRY A LOT OR A LITTLE

	455=100%*
"Kind of Job I'll Have"	27.7
Job Security	44.4
"Will I have a steady job; security?"	19.8
"Job with pension and security"	2.6
"Automation"	1.1
"Job with good pay"	15.2
"Job with status, something to be proud of."	3.5
"How to get a job 'without education.'"	2.2
Having Enough Money	40.4
"Ability to support a family"	25.5
"Money to support myself"	11.2
"Money "I'll be saving"	3.7
Living Conditions and Marital Status	32.5
"Neighborhood, home, own house"	18.0
"Will I be married, have family?"	14.5
Education	12.7
"Will my kids have the best education?"	6.5
"Am I going to get the education I want?"	6.2
Self-improvement	17.6
"Can I make something of myself, better myself, or be a bum?"	9.5
"What's going to become of me?"	8.1
Miscellaneous	7.9

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* Multiple responses total more than 100 percent.

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Attitude Toward Moving from One's Neighborhood

Seventy-three percent of all respondents said they would like to move from their neighborhood; 21 percent said they would not like to move; and 6 percent said, "don't know." Fifty-four percent of those who said they would like to move, wanted to move very much; 43 percent said "not so much;" and 3 percent didn't know. There were no differences in the responses of the JOIN and HARYOU-Act groups. The major places to which respondents would like to move were:

Table 46

PLACE TO WHICH RESPONDENT WOULD LIKE TO MOVE

	436=100%
In the New York metropolitan area, but out of the five N.Y.C. boroughs	33.0
Different neighborhoods in N.Y.C.	22.7
California	12.4
Southern states	9.6
Other, United States	10.8
Other areas outside of mainland U.S.A.	4.6
Don't know	6.9

Attitude Toward Moving from One's Neighborhood

The major reasons for wishing to move were primarily for quieter neighborhoods (30 percent), cleaner neighborhoods (29 percent), neighborhoods with less crime (22 percent). Trees, grass, and open country (15 percent),

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and a respectable neighborhood (15 percent) were also mentioned.

Table 47

REASONS FOR WANTING TO MOVE TO A NEW NEIGHBORHOOD/PLACE OF RESIDENCE

Reasons	Total* 436=100%	JOIN* 434=100%	HARYOU* 167=100%
	%	%	%
"Quieter"	30.3	34.7	19.2
"Cleaner"	28.9	32.2	20.8
"Less crime"	21.8	23.5	17.6
"Countryside, trees, grass and woods"	15.1	15.4	14.4
"I like the people there, are friendlier"	15.1	16.1	12.8
"Respectable neighborhood"	14.9	16.1	12.0
"Family, friends live there"	9.4	8.7	11.2
"Is better financially; lower taxes, higher wages"	9.2	10.6	5.6
"Has warm weather"	8.9	9.6	7.2
"Better environment for children	8.5	8.4	8.8
"Less crowded; too many people here"	8.0	8.4	7.2
"Buy a house; live in own place"	7.6	8.0	6.4
"New house, project"	5.3	4.8	6.4
Miscellaneous	7.2	6.3	12.6

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* Responses exceed 100 percent because of multiple responses.

4585

Respondents' Attitudes Toward Finishing Their Educations

Seventy-six percent of all respondents who did not finish high school said they had left on their own accord, and the remainder said they were asked to leave. Sixty-five percent of those who had not finished said they would like to return to school and finish their education; 32 percent said they would not; 3 percent said, "don't know."

Seventy percent said they would not like to go back to the same school they had dropped out of. Their major reasons for not going back were: the school was no good (19 percent); it didn't teach the right things (15 percent); I know too many people and would start fooling around (13 percent); I'm too old for that school (13 percent); I wouldn't get along there (9 percent); they wouldn't take me because of my record (8 percent). The schools preferred were: night school (30 percent); vocational high school (28 percent); academic high school (25 percent) and high school (14 percent).

Twenty-seven percent of all respondents who had not completed school said their chances of going back to school were "very good;" 43 percent said they were "moderately good;" and 23 percent said they were "not very good." Seven percent said, "don't know."

Five reasons cited by respondents for wanting to go back to school were: to get my diploma (68 percent); to get a good job (36 percent); to get more education (11 percent);

to learn a trade (8 percent); to get into college (7 percent).

The reasons cited by respondents for not wanting to go back to school were: I just want to learn a trade (43 percent); I just want a job to make money (33 percent); I just don't like school (13 percent); I'm too far behind (11 percent); I'd get into trouble again (5 percent); I'm too old (4 percent).

RESPONDENTS' CONSCIOUSNESS OF RACIAL FACTORS IN EMPLOYMENT

Respondents were asked a series of questions concerning racial factors affecting their chances for employment. Fifty-three percent of all respondents felt that "in general it is easier for young Negroes to find jobs than it was a few years ago." Thirty-two percent said it was not; and 16 percent said, "don't know."

Seventy-four percent of the HARYOU-Act group said it was "easier" as compared with 45 percent of the JOIN group. The major reasons cited by those who said it was easier were: "They have more education, training" (40 percent); "There are more job centers" (29 percent); "because of civil rights laws (19 percent); and "because of protests and demonstrations (15 percent). (See Table 48, page 129.)

When asked if it is easier for young Negroes that they know to find jobs, a somewhat different response was forthcoming. Forty-five percent said it was easier; 37 percent said it was not easier; and 18 percent said, "don't know."

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Table 48

EASE OF GETTING JOBS FOR YOUNG NEGROES

Statement: "In general, is it easier today for young Negroes to find jobs than a few years ago?"

	Total		JOIN*		HARYOU*	
	601=100%		434=100%		167=100%	
		%		%		%
Yes	316	52.6	193	44.5	123	73.7
No	190	31.6	153	35.3	37	22.2
Don't know	95	15.8	88	20.3	7	4.2
Reasons Among Those Saying "Yes"	316=100%		193=100%		123=100%	
"They are more educated, have more training"		39.9		44.0		33.3
"There are more places like JOIN/HARYOU centers"		29.1		26.9		32.5
"Protests and demonstrations"		14.9		12.4		18.7
"Civil rights bills; new laws"		19.0		18.7		19.5
"Attitudes toward Negroes have changed"		7.0		8.8		4.1
"Negroes try harder; want more"		5.4		6.7		3.3
"More jobs available"		4.7		5.7		3.3
"People like Kennedy, Johnson"		4.7		4.1		5.7
"Negro leaders like Mr. King"		1.6		1.0		2.4
Miscellaneous		1.6		1.0		2.4
Don't know/no answer		6.3		6.2		6.5

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* Responses exceed 100 percent because of multiple answers.

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Seventy percent of all HARYOU-Act respondents said it was easier as compared with 36 percent among the JOIN group. Thus, although the respondents appeared to believe that more jobs in general were available, a smaller proportion reported this improvement among their own acquaintances.

RESPONDENTS' OPINIONS ON THE EFFECTIVENESS OF DEMONSTRATIONS FOR GETTING JOBS

Respondents were asked directly if demonstrations and protests had helped Negroes to get jobs, made it harder, or made not much difference. Forty-nine percent said they had helped; 11 percent said they had made it harder; and 23 percent said they had not made much difference. Sixteen percent said, "don't know." A higher percentage of the HARYOU-Act group than among the JOIN group believed that demonstrations had helped (56 percent versus 46 percent), while a higher percentage of the JOIN group (19 percent) than among the HARYOU-Act group (9 percent) replied, "don't know."

When asked whether protests and demonstrations or education and training get more jobs for Negroes, 80 percent said education and training; 3 percent said protests; and 10 percent said both. Seven percent said, "don't know." The major reasons for preferring education and training were: "Education and training qualifies you for jobs;" "You need the education;" "You don't learn by protests;" and "Protests only work if you're qualified for the job."

Chapter VII

THE JOB EXPERIENCE OF RESPONDENTS

Approximately one-third of the respondents had never had a job (part-time or full-time) since leaving school. Almost 40 percent had one or two jobs, and 28 percent had three or more jobs.

A higher percentage of HARYOU-Act (73 percent) than of JOIN respondents (66 percent) had had one or more jobs. In addition, the HARYOU-Act respondents had more jobs. The median number of jobs held by the JOIN respondents was 1.7 while at the HARYOU-Act Center the median was 2.3 jobs.

Table 49

NUMBER OF JOBS (PART- AND FULL-TIME) HELD BY RESPONDENTS SINCE LEAVING SCHOOL

Number of Jobs	Total 601=100%	JOIN 434=100%	HARYOU 167=100%
	%	%	%
None	32.1	34.1	26.9
One	20.5	22.1	16.2
Two	18.6	17.6	21.0
Three	12.8	11.5	16.2
Four	4.2	4.1	4.2
Five	3.2	3.7	1.8
Six or more	7.8	6.2	12.0
Don't know	.8	.8	1.8
Median	1.9	1.7	2.3

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NUMBER OF FULL-TIME JOBS HELD

Thirty-seven percent of all respondents had never had a full-time job, and 22 percent had had only one. The JOIN and HARYOU-Act groups did not differ substantially in this respect.

Table 50

NUMBER OF FULL-TIME JOBS HELD BY RESPONDENTS SINCE LEAVING SCHOOL

Number of Full-Time Jobs	Total 601=100%	JOIN 434=100%	HARYOU 167=100%
	%	%	%
None	36.9	38.2	33.5
One	22.3	22.6	21.6
Two	17.3	16.8	18.6
Three	10.0	10.1	9.6
Four	4.0	3.7	4.8
Five	3.2	3.7	1.8
Six or more	6.3	4.8	10.2

LARGEST AMOUNT OF MONEY EARNED BY RESPONDENTS ON ANY FULL-TIME JOB

Among those respondents who had ever had a full-time job, approximately $60 per week was the median figure for the largest amount ever earned on a full-time job; and one-quarter of the respondents reported earning $76 a week or more as the highest salary they had ever earned on any job. HARYOU-Act respondents earned slightly more than the JOIN group; the medians were $63 and $58 respectively.

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Table 51

GREATEST AMOUNT RESPONDENT EVER EARNED (PER WEEK) ON ANY JOB

	Total 601=100%	JOIN 434=100%	HARYOU 167=100%
	%	%	%
Never had a full-time job	222	166	56
Had a full-time job	379=100%	268=100%	111=100%
Amount Earned			
$45 or less	12.4	13.1	10.8
$46-55	22.4	26.1	13.5
$56-65	29.3	28.4	31.5
$66-75	13.7	12.7	16.2
$76-85	7.1	6.0	10.0
$86-95	3.2	2.6	4.5
$96-105	4.2	4.1	4.5
$106-125	4.0	3.0	6.3
$126 and over	3.2	3.3	2.7
Don't remember	0.5	0.7	0.0
Median	$60	$58	$63

AMOUNT EARNED ON LAST FULL-TIME JOB

The 379 respondents who had been employed reported a median income of $57 per week on their last full-time job. One-third had earned more than $65 a week, and one-quarter had earned between $45 and $55 a week.

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Table 52

AMOUNT RESPONDENT EARNED PER WEEK ON LAST FULL-TIME JOB

Amount Earned	Total 379=100%	JOIN 268=100%	HARYOU 111=100%
	%	%	%
$45 or less	16.4	17.9	12.6
$46-55	32.2	34.7	26.1
$56-65	27.4	23.9	36.0
$66-75	12.7	12.3	13.5
$76-85	5.0	4.1	7.2
$86-95	2.6	3.0	1.8
$96-105	1.6	1.9	0.9
$106-125	0.8	0.7	0.9
$126 and over	0.8	0.8	0.9
Don't know	0.5	0.7	---
Median	$57	$54	$59

LENGTH OF TIME RESPONDENTS WERE OUT OF WORK

Sixty percent of all respondents had once had a full-time job but 97 percent were, at the time of interview, out of work. Of these, 19 percent had been out of work a week or less. Thirty-five percent had been out of work from 1 to 4 weeks. The remainder (46 percent) were out of work a month or more, with 18 percent having been out of work from 1 to 3 months and 16 percent out of work from 4 to 6 months. Thirteen percent had been out of work more than 6 months. There were no marked differences in length of time out of work between the JOIN and HARYOU-Act groups.

Table 53

LENGTH OF TIME SINCE RESPONDENT HAD A FULL-TIME JOB

	Total 601=100%		JOIN 434=100%		HARYOU 167=100%	
		%		%		%
Still working	18	3.0	6	1.4	56	7.2
Never had full-time job	222	36.9	166	38.2	99	33.5
Out of work 100% =		60.1		60.4		59.3
One week or less		18.8		19.1		18.2
1-4 weeks		35.0		35.5		33.3
1-3 months		18.0		17.9		18.2
4-6 months		15.5		15.3		16.2
7-9 months		5.3		4.6		7.1
10-12 months		3.6		3.1		5.1
13-18 months		0.6		0.4		1.0
19-24 months		0.8		0.8		1.0
25-36 months		1.1		1.5		---
37-60 months		1.4		1.9		---

LENGTH OF TIME RESPONDENTS HAVE BEEN LOOKING FOR WORK

Thirty percent of all respondents had been looking for work for less than a week, and 5 percent had not looked for work until applying at the respective youth-employment centers. Thirty-five percent had been looking for work from 1 to 4 weeks. Another 25 percent had been looking for work from 1 to 6 months, 15 percent for 1 to 3 months, and 10 percent for 4 to 6 months. There were no marked differences between JOIN and HARYOU-Act respondents.

Table 54

LENGTH OF TIME RESPONDENTS HAVE BEEN LOOKING FOR WORK

	Total 601=100%		JOIN 434=100%		HARYOU 167=100%	
		%		%		%
Working full time	18	3.0	6	1.4	12	7.2
Not working full time	583	97.0=100%	428	98.6=100%	155	92.8=100%
		%		%		%
Had not looked for work before this visit		5.0		3.3		9.7
One week or less		29.5		29.2		30.3
1-4 weeks		34.6		35.1		33.6
1-3 months		14.6		14.7		14.2
4-6 months		10.3		11.2		7.7
7-9 months		1.9		1.9		1.9
10-12 months		2.1		2.3		1.3
13-18 months		0.9		0.9		0.6
19-24 months		0.5		0.7		---
Over two years		0.6		0.7		0.7

WHAT RESPONDENTS DISLIKED ABOUT THE FULL-TIME JOBS THEY HAVE HAD

Sixty-three percent of the respondents reported having had at least one full-time job; of these, 55 percent reported having disliked some of these jobs. The most commonly reported single reason for dislike was low pay (37 percent). Comments about the nature of the work accounted for 82 percent of the responses.

Two-thirds (65 percent) of all those who had ever had a full-time job liked one or more of their jobs. The things they liked were: the work (42 percent), the people (28 percent), the pay (26 percent), the easiness of the work (19 percent), and the training (13 percent).

Table 55

WHAT RESPONDENTS DISLIKED ABOUT THEIR FULL-TIME JOBS

	601=100%		
Never had a job	32.1		
Had part-time job(s) only	4.0		
No answer	0.8		
Had at least one full-time job	63.1=100%		
"Did you dislike any of these full-time jobs?"			
No		44.6	
Yes		55.4=100%*	
"What did you dislike about these jobs?"			
The pay was bad			37.1
Type of work got me down			31.9
Work was hard			31.4
Disliked the boss			18.6
Was a long day, bad hours, Saturdays			11.4
Disliked the people			10.0
No advancement			6.7
Work was monotonous			6.7
Was out of doors			5.7
Traveling to get there			2.9
Miscellaneous			6.7

---

* Multiple responses exceed 100 percent.

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Table 56

WHAT RESPONDENTS LIKED ABOUT THEIR FULL-TIME JOBS

"Did you like any of these full-time jobs?"	379	= 100%
Yes	246	64.9
No	133	35.1
"What things did you like about them?"	246	= 100%*
Liked the work		41.9
Met nice people		28.0
Pay was good		26.4
Work was easy		19.1
Gave me training		12.6
The hours		6.5
Something to do, no idling		4.5
On my own, my own boss		4.5
Was glad to be independent		2.4
Miscellaneous; don't know		12.5

---

* Multiple responses total more than 100 percent.

RESPONDENTS' JOB SOURCES

Respondents were asked if they had ever obtained full-time employment through a variety of sources such as private employment agencies, newspaper advertisements, and others. The most important source of obtaining full-time employment was friends or family; 39 percent of the respondents reported this as a source of full-time jobs. Next most important was "just walking in and asking for a job;"

23 percent mentioned this as a source of full-time jobs. The more public sources of full-time employment did not serve as well; 18 percent reported getting jobs through the State Employment Agency, but only 11 percent reported private employment agencies which require fees, and 9 percent newspaper ads. It is apparent that the respondents tended to obtain jobs through personal contacts and direct knowledge, even though jobs through these channels may be limited.

Table 57

SOURCES OF FULL-TIME JOBS

Have Obtained Jobs Through:	601 = 100%
The State Employment agency	%
Yes	18.3
No	81.7
A private employment agency where you pay a fee	
Yes	11.0
No	89.0
Newspaper ads	
Yes	9.2
No	90.8
Friends or family	
Yes	39.3
No	60.7
Just walking in and asking for a job	
Yes	23.0
No	77.0
Other ways	
School	4.0
Community center	4.3
Union, parole officer	1.3

THE EMPLOYMENT STATUS OF RESPONDENTS AND THEIR BEST FRIENDS

As might be expected at an employment center, the vast majority (96 percent) of respondents were out of work. Only 3 percent of the respondents had full-time jobs and 1 percent had part-time jobs. However, even among their best friends over 25 percent were looking for work or just "hanging around." Since 18 percent of the best friends were in school and 10 percent of the respondents had no best

Table 58

EMPLOYMENT STATUS OF BEST FRIEND BY AGE OF RESPONDENT

		Age					
	Total	16	17	18	19	20	21
Employment Status 100%=	601	66	152	141	111	83	48
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Working	37.8	34.8	31.6	41.8	35.1	44.6	43.7
Looking for work	25.1	31.8	25.7	20.6	22.5	25.3	33.3
In school	17.8	21.2	25.7	22.0	15.3	3.6	6.2
In armed service	6.2	0.0	5.9	6.4	9.9	8.4	2.1
Job corps	1.0	3.0	2.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Hanging around	1.0	0.0	1.3	0.7	2.7	0.0	0.0
Jail	0.8	0.0	0.7	0.7	0.9	2.4	0.0
Other	0.2	1.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
No best friend	10.2	7.6	6.6	7.8	13.5	15.7	14.6
Excluding In School & No Best Friend 100%=	433	47	102	99	79	67	38
Looking for work or hanging around	36.3	44.7	40.0	30.3	35.4	31.3	42.1

friends, the percent unemployed was substantially higher. If we exclude friends in school and "no best friends" from our analysis, the unemployment rate, among those in the labor force (even including those in the armed services, in jail and the Job Corps) was 36 percent.

The friends of respondents who had the lowest levels of education had the highest levels of unemployment. (See also Table 60, page 142.)

Table 59

EMPLOYMENT STATUS OF RESPONDENTS' FRIENDS BY RESPONDENTS' LEVEL OF EDUCATION

What Close Friends Are Doing*	Highest Grade in School Completed				
	8 & less 45=100%	9th 93=100%	10th 172=100%	11th 149=100%	12 & up 142=100%
	%	%	%	%	%
Working	28.9	36.6	41.9	44.3	45.8
Looking for work	51.1	34.4	39.0	25.5	30.3
In school	20.0	22.6	19.2	30.9	21.1
In armed service	4.4	4.3	4.7	11.4	12.7
No friends	2.2	2.2	1.2	3.4	2.1
Job corps	---	---	1.2	5.4	0.7
Nothing/hanging around	4.4	1.1	3.5	---	2.1
Jail	---	3.2	0.6	---	---
Subgroup:					
Looking for work & hanging around	55.5	35.5	42.5	25.5	32.4

---

* Multiple responses exceed 100 percent

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Table 60

EMPLOYMENT STATUS OF BEST FRIEND BY SCHOOLING OF RESPONDENT

Employment Status	Total 601	Schooling * 8th 45	9th 93	10th 172	11th 149	12 & up 142
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Working	37.8	37.8	28.0	37.2	39.6	43.0
Looking for work	25.1	26.7	29.0	28.5	19.5	23.9
In school	17.8	17.8	23.7	16.9	19.5	13.4
In armed service	6.2	4.4	3.2	6.4	6.7	7.7
Job corps	1.0	0.0	2.2	0.6	2.0	0.0
Hanging around	1.0	2.2	1.1	1.2	1.3	0.0
Jail	0.8	0.0	1.1	1.2	0.7	0.7
Other	0.2	0.0	1.1	0.0	0.0	0.0
No best friend	10.2	11.1	10.8	8.1	10.7	11.3
Excluding In School & No Best Friend 100%=	433	32	61	129	104	107
Looking for work & hanging around	36.3	40.6	46.0	39.5	29.8	31.8

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* Too small to indicate stable results.

RESPONDENTS' REPORT OF BEST FRIEND'S EMPLOYMENT STATUS BY CENTER

While the percentage of "best friends" working was substantially the same among Harlem and Brooklyn JOIN respondents, the percentage of best friends "looking for work" was substantially higher in Brooklyn (32 percent) than in Harlem (8 percent). Conversely, the percentage of best friends in school was substantially higher than in Brooklyn (29 versus 13 percent). Apparently the JOIN respondents selected as their best friends a much higher percentage of unemployed youth (42 percent) than did the HARYOU-Act respondents (16 percent).

Table 61

EMPLOYMENT STATUS OF BEST FRIEND BY CENTER

Employment Status	Total 601=100%	JOIN 434=100%	HARYOU 167=100%
	%	%	%
Working	37.8	37.8	37.7
Looking for work	25.1	31.8	7.8
In school	17.8	13.4	29.3
In armed service	6.2	5.3	8.4
Job corps	1.0	0.9	1.0
Hanging around	1.0	0.9	1.2
Jail	0.8	0.7	1.2
Other	0.2	0.2	0.0
No best friend	10.2	9.0	13.2
Excluding Those In School & Having No Best Friend	433=100%	337=100%	96=100%
Looking for work and hanging around	36.3	42.1	15.6

Chapter VIII

THE WORK ATTITUDES AND ECONOMIC ASPIRATIONS OF THE RESPONDENTS

RESPONDENTS' ECONOMIC ATTITUDES

Respondents were asked a series of questions concerning their attitudes toward work. The purpose was to measure the intensity of their occupational mobility orientation, general commitment to work as a way of life, their rating of themselves as workers, and their expectations of success.

In order to establish controls that would place the response of unemployed Negro youth in the context of the larger society, the same questions were asked of three other groups of male youth. These were:

260 juniors and seniors in Cardinal Hayes High School, a Catholic parochial high school in New York City

442 freshmen and sophomores at Fordham University (Catholic) in New York City

196 American-born Negro freshmen and sophomores at Howard University in Washington, D.C.

The 898 interviews were self-administered pencil and paper questionnaires conducted in large classes at these respective institutions.*

As expected, the Cardinal Hayes High School students were in general younger than the Fordham and Howard

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* By design, white students at Howard and Negro students at Fordham and Cardinal Hayes High School were excluded from analysis.

University groups; the respondents from all these groups were almost all single. The students at Howard were older, and had more employment experience; the respondents at Fordham came from substantially higher income groups than those of the other groups. The Fordham and Cardinal Hayes groups were predominantly Catholic (96 percent and 95 percent), while the Howard University group was predominantly Protestant (83 percent). (See Table 62, pages 146 and 147 for background characteristics.)

BASIC ATTITUDES TOWARD WORK

The basic attitudes toward work were measured by two series of questions, all of which were administered to the New York Negro respondents (our study group) and the three control samples. The first series of questions asked respondents to estimate the level of income they would need in the future to support a family, and their chances of earning that income. The second series included statements about work, which, depending on the sample, were read to or read by respondents. Respondents were asked if they strongly agreed, agreed, disagreed, strongly disagreed, or didn't know. The statements were:

> Work has no dignity in my experience.
>
> Work is the only way to survive in this world.
>
> You don't have to work at a job you don't like; you can always go on relief.
>
> It is better to have a rotten job than to have no job at all.

(Con't, p. 148.)

Table 62

BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS OF THE CONTROL GROUPS

	Cardinal Hayes 260 = 100%	Fordham University 442 = 100%	Howard University 196 = 100%
Family Income	%	%	%
Under $4,000	6.5	4.3	8.2
$4,000-$5,000	9.2	3.4	15.3
TOTAL	15.7	7.7	23.5
$5,001-$7,500	35.0	19.0	23.0
$7,501-10,000	23.4	22.9	17.9
TOTAL	58.4	41.9	40.9
$10,001-$15,000	13.5	29.6	19.9
$15,001-$20,000	.8	11.1	6.6
Over $20,000	1.2	7.2	6.1
TOTAL	15.5	47.9	32.6
No answer	10.4	2.5	3.1
1st quartile	$5,673	$7,276	$5,019
Median	$7,459	$10,040	$8,035
3rd quartile	$10,355	$14,250	$12,750
Religion			
Protestant	.4	1.8	82.7
Catholic	95.0	96.4	12.8
Jewish	.4	.2	.5
All other	4.2	1.6	4.1

Table 62 (con't.)

BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS OF THE CONTROL GROUPS

	Cardinal Hayes 260 = 100%	Fordham University 442 = 100%	Howard University 196 = 100%
Age	%	%	%
16 years	19.2	---	---
17 years	56.9	3.8	1.0
18 years	20.0	44.6	48.0
19 years	1.2	44.1	36.2
20 years	---	7.0	9.1
21 years	---	.5	4.1
No answer	2.7	---	1.5
Class			
Freshman	---	61.8	83.7
Sophomore	---	37.6	9.2
Junior	49.2	.5	3.6
Senior	47.3	.2	1.0
No answer	3.5	---	2.6
Marital Status			
Married	---	.7	.5
Single	100.0	99.3	99.5
Work Experience			
Have never worked full time	65.0	40.3	26.0
Have worked full time	32.3	59.5	68.4
No answer	2.7	.2	5.6

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> So long as I earn enough to live decently, I don't care too much what kind of work I do.
>
> Work is so interesting that people do it even if they don't need the money.
>
> I expect that during their lives my children will be able to have better jobs than I will.
>
> On most jobs you don't get ahead by working hard; you get ahead by knowing the right people.
>
> Even on a job you don't like, you can learn some things you wouldn't learn otherwise.
>
> I would rather have an interesting job for less money than a dull job for more money.

SALARY NEEDED AND EXPECTED IN 5 TO 10 YEARS

Question: Supposing 5 or 10 years from now you were married with 2 children. How much money per week would you need to support them?

The response to this question appeared to be both a function of race and of education. The Howard University group produced a median response of $193 per week, not significantly different from the $195 median response of the Fordham University group. However, the first-quartile response of Howard University students was lower than that of the Fordham group, and the third-quartile response was higher.

The Cardinal Hayes students offered significantly lower estimates of needed incomes than did the 2 university groups, but these were substantially higher than the 2 ghetto groups. The Cardinal Hayes students produced a median response of $173 a week, compared with a median of $151 per week among the

New York Negro group. There was no great difference in the responses between the JOIN and HARYOU-Act groups. Thus, the New York Negro group produces a median of $7,850 a year; but this estimate is $1,150 to $2,400 less than the other groups.

Table 63

ESTIMATED NEEDED INCOMES PER WEEK IN 5 TO 10 YEARS

	Cardinal Hayes	Fordham	Howard	N.Y.C. Ghetto Groups		
				Total	JOIN	HARYOU
Income Per Week						
1st quartile	$150	$168	$155	$101	$102	$104
Median	$173	$195	$193	$151	$154	$147
3rd quartile	$200	$254	$273	$188	$189	$190

Income Expectation in 5 to 10 Years

Respondents were asked: "What are your chances of earning that kind of money 5 to 10 years from now?"

The 2 college samples and the Cardinal Hayes samples produced responses of "very good" in the range of 55 percent to 65 percent, and "very good" or "fairly good" responses in the neighborhood of 95 percent. The New York Negro youth sample produced a response of "very good" of 32 percent and "very good" or "fairly good" of 84 percent.

A much higher percentage of the HARYOU-Act (44 percent) sample than of the JOIN sample (28 percent) felt their chances of getting the needed income were very good, but even the HARYOU-Act sample produced lower levels of "very good" responses than any of white or college samples. The New York ghetto groups are thus much more pessimistic about their chances of reaching those income levels that they themselves consider necessary for supporting a family.

Table 64

CHANCES OF EARNING NEEDED MONEY IN 5 TO 10 YEARS

	Cardinal Hayes	Fordham	Howard	N.Y.C. Ghetto Groups		
				Total	JOIN	HARYOU
100%=	260	422	196	601	434	167
Chances Are:	%	%	%	%	%	%
Very good	55.0	65.8	60.2	32.4	28.1	43.7
Fairly good	38.8	28.1	33.2	51.7	56.5	39.5
Not so good	3.5	1.6	1.5	9.7	9.9	9.0
Don't know	2.0	4.1	5.1	5.7	5.1	7.2
No answer	.8	.5	---	.5	.5	.6

Income Level Which Respondents Said They Had a Very Good Chance of Attaining

One method of determining the actual income expectancy of respondents is to analyze the income levels which respondents felt they had a very good chance of achieving. When this is done, the 2 New York Negro youth samples indicated an expected median income of $122 per week ($121 for JOIN respondents and $125 for HARYOU-Act respondents). This is substantially lower than median expected incomes of Cardinal Hayes ($173) and Fordham and Howard Universities' respondents ($191 each).

Table 65

WEEKLY INCOME WHICH EACH SAMPLE SAID THEY HAD A VERY GOOD CHANCE OF ACHIEVING IN 5 TO 10 YEARS

	Cardinal Hayes	Fordham	Howard	N.Y.C. Ghetto Groups		
				Total	JOIN	HARYOU
Income Per Week						
1st quartile	$161	$161	$153	$99	$100	$99
Median	$173	$191	$191	$122	$121	$125
3rd quartile	$202	$210	$264	$174	$166	$187

ATTITUDES TOWARD WORK

The "Dignity of Work"

Statement: "Work has no dignity in my experience." On this item over 90 percent of the college and white samples disagreed, as compared with 61 percent of New York Negro youth samples. The HARYOU-Act sample was more likely to disagree (77 percent) than the JOIN sample that work has no dignity. (See Table 66, page 152.)

"You Can Always Go on Relief"

Statement: "You don't have to work at a job you don't like; you can always go on relief."

All 3 white or college samples rejected the idea of going on relief as a substitute for a disliked job at levels approaching 95 percent. The New York Negro samples rejected going on relief, but only at the 60 percent level. HARYOU-Act samples rejected relief much more (74 percent) than did the JOIN sample (55 percent). The 3 white and college

Table 66

PERCENTAGE IN EACH SAMPLE AGREEING/DISAGREEING WITH THE STATEMENT: "WORK HAS NO DIGNITY...."

	Cardinal Hayes	Fordham	Howard	N.Y.C. Ghetto Groups		
				Total	JOIN	HARYOU
100% =	260	422	196	601	434	167
Agreement	%	%	%	%	%	%
Strongly agree	3.5	2.3	2.6	5.0	6.2	1.8
Agree	4.2	2.3	1.5	28.0	32.5	16.2
TOTAL	7.7	4.6	4.1	33.0	38.7	18.0
Disagreement						
Disagree	36.1	37.8	38.8	50.6	43.5	68.9
Strongly disagree	55.0	57.5	53.6	10.3	11.1	8.4
TOTAL	91.1	95.3	92.4	60.9	54.6	77.3
Don't know	0.4	---	0.5	6.2	6.7	4.8
No answer	0.8	0.2	3.1	---	---	---

samples were very intense in their rejection of relief, while even those respondents in the New York Negro youth samples who disagreed did not strongly disagree. (See Table 67, page 153.)

"It's Better to Have a Rotten Job."

Statement: "It is better to have a rotten job than to have no job at all."

The New York Negro youth samples were more likely to agree with the statement (78 percent) than did the white or college samples. In the latter groups, the percentage agreeing ranged from 57 percent to 70 percent. Thus, the

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Table 67

PERCENTAGE IN EACH SAMPLE AGREEING/DISAGREEING WITH THE STATEMENT: "YOU DON'T HAVE TO WORK AT A JOB YOU DON'T LIKE; YOU CAN ALWAYS GO ON RELIEF."

	Cardinal Hayes	Fordham	Howard	N.Y.C. Ghetto Groups		
				Total	JOIN	HARYOU
100% =	260	422	196	601	434	167
Agreement	%	%	%	%	%	%
Strongly agree	1.2	2.7	0.5	8.2	10.6	1.8
Agree	3.8	2.5	4.6	28.6	30.9	22.8
TOTAL	5.0	5.2	5.1	36.8	41.5	24.6
Disagreement						
Disagree	22.3	30.8	35.7	50.9	45.2	65.9
Strongly disagree	72.3	62.9	57.7	9.3	9.9	7.8
TOTAL	94.6	93.7	93.4	60.2	55.1	73.7
Don't know	---	0.5	---	3.0	3.5	1.8
No answer	0.4	0.7	1.5	---	---	---

New York youth samples were more likely to accept relief, but in the absence of relief a rotten job. (See results on Table 68, page 154.)

Job Interest Versus Money

Statement: "I would rather have an interesting job for less money than a dull job for more money."

This item may be deficient because it does not specify the income of the interesting, but less well-paying job. Thus, if one receives a very good salary for an interesting job, one may not find a better paying, but less interesting

Table 68

PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS AGREEING/DISAGREEING WITH THE STATEMENT: "IT IS BETTER TO HAVE A ROTTEN JOB THAN TO HAVE NO JOB AT ALL."

	Cardinal Hayes	Fordham	Howard	N.Y.C. Ghetto Groups		
				Total	JOIN	HARYOU
100% =	260	422	196	601	434	167
Agreement	%	%	%	%	%	%
Strongly agree	15.4	12.4	23.0	13.6	17.1	4.8
Agree	41.5	53.4	46.9	63.9	60.6	72.5
TOTAL	56.9	65.8	69.9	77.5	77.7	77.3
Disagreement						
Disagree	26.5	24.9	16.8	15.8	14.7	18.6
Strongly disagree	15.8	8.4	10.2	3.3	3.2	3.6
TOTAL	42.3	33.3	27.0	19.1	17.9	22.2
Don't know	0.4	---	---	3.3	4.4	0.6
No answer	0.4	0.9	3.1	---	---	---

job too attractive. The over-all results indicate no sharp differences between the 5 samples.

Earnings Versus Kind of Work

Statement: "So long as I earn enough to live decently, I don't care too much what kind of work I do."

This question focuses on the differences between work as a source of earnings versus an intrinsic attachment to work.

The 2 New York Negro youth samples as a whole (and especially the JOIN samples) indicated close to 50 percent agreement with the statement, while the white and college samples overwhelmingly and intensively disagreed. It thus appears that New York Negro groups are much more interested in the minimal thresholds of earnings in work, rather than the kind of work they do, while the other samples expect not only earnings, but a kind of work that is attractive to them personally.

Table 69

PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS AGREEING/DISAGREEING WITH THE STATEMENT: "SO LONG AS I EARN ENOUGH I DON'T CARE WHAT KIND OF WORK I DO."

	Cardinal Hayes	Fordham	Howard	N.Y.C. Ghetto Groups		
				Total	JOIN	HARYOU
100% =	260	422	196	601	434	167
Agreement	%	%	%	%	%	%
Strongly agree	3.1	0.9	3.1	6.7	8.5	1.8
Agree	8.8	3.8	6.6	45.3	46.3	42.5
TOTAL	11.9	4.7	9.7	52.0	54.8	44.3
Disagreement						
Disagree	48.5	45.2	38.3	38.4	34.6	48.5
Strongly disagree	39.2	49.1	49.0	6.2	6.7	4.8
TOTAL	87.7	94.3	87.3	44.6	41.3	53.3
Don't know	---	0.2	---	3.5	3.9	2.4
No answer	0.4	0.7	3.1	---	---	---

"Work is the Only Way to Survive."

Statement: "Work is the only way to survive in this world."

All samples agreed substantially with the statement at the 75 to 80 percent level, except the Fordham sample. In that group 65 percent expressed agreement. It may be speculated that in the sample with the highest socioeconomic status, the pursuit of other values than work values may be attractive, i.e., a greater number in that group may be above the cultural level where survival by itself is a sufficient base for work satisfaction. Detailed results were:

Table 70

PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS AGREEING/DISAGREEING WITH THE STATEMENT: "WORK IS THE ONLY WAY TO SURVIVE IN THIS WORLD."

	Cardinal Hayes	Fordham	Howard	N.Y.C. Ghetto Groups		
				Total	JOIN	HARYOU
100% =	260	422	196	601	434	167
Agreement	%	%	%	%	%	%
Strongly agree	33.1	25.6	37.2	18.0	21.0	10.2
Agree	46.2	39.1	39.3	58.2	55.1	66.5
TOTAL	79.3	64.7	76.5	76.2	76.1	76.7
Disagreement						
Disagree	13.1	28.7	17.9	19.1	18.4	21.0
Strongly disagree	6.9	5.4	4.1	1.8	2.1	1.2
TOTAL	20.0	34.1	22.0	20.9	20.5	22.2
Don't know	0.4	---	---	2.8	3.5	1.2
No answer	0.4	1.1	1.5	---	---	---

"Work Is So Interesting."

Statement: "Work is so interesting that people do it even though they don't need the money."

This statement is de[illegible]d to measure respondents' awareness of the possibility that work can be interesting. It does not, in its wording, measure the personal appeal of interesting work, since, if that were the case, the question would state, "I believe that work is so interesting...."

Higher percentages of the 2 New York Negro samples (in total and separately) agreed with the statement than did the other samples. The middle-class groups were more divided on this question than the New York Negro groups. It appears that the possibility of interesting work is especially salient to the New York Negro respondents.

Table 71

PERCENTAGES OF RESPONDENTS AGREEING/DISAGREEING WITH THE STATEMENT: "WORK IS SO INTERESTING PEOPLE DO IT EVEN THOUGH THEY DON'T NEED THE MONEY."

	Cardinal Hayes	Fordham	Howard	N.Y.C. Ghetto Groups		
				Total	JOIN	HARYCU
100% =	260	422	196	601	434	167
Agreement	%	%	%	%	%	%
Strongly agree	5.0	10.4	5.6	8.3	11.1	1.2
Agree	45.4	42.3	42.3	56.9	56.9	56.9
TOTAL	50.4	52.7	47.9	65.2	68.0	58.1
Disagreement						
Disagree	34.6	37.1	33.1	26.3	22.3	36.5
Strongly disagree	13.5	8.8	15.3	4.0	4.6	2.4
TOTAL	48.1	45.9	48.4	30.3	26.9	38.9
Don't know	0.8	0.2	---	4.5	5.1	3.0
No answer	0.8	1.1	3.6	---	---	---

"You Can Learn on a Job You Don't Like."

Statement: "Even on a job you don't like, you can learn something you wouldn't learn otherwise."

All samples agreed substantially with the statement, and all except the JOIN respondents agreed at over the 95 percent level. Eighty-three percent of the latter sample agreed.

Table 72

PERCENTAGES OF RESPONDENTS AGREEING/DISAGREEING WITH THE STATEMENT: "EVEN ON A JOB YOU DON'T LIKE, YOU CAN LEARN SOMETHING...."

				N.Y.C. Ghetto Groups		
	Cardinal Hayes	Fordham	Howard	Total	JOIN	HARYOU
100% =	260	422	196	601	434	167
Agreement	%	%	%	%	%	%
Strongly agree	31.2	32.4	39.3	12.5	15.9	3.6
Agree	65.4	66.1	57.7	74.7	67.3	94.0
TOTAL	96.6	98.5	97.0	87.2	83.2	97.6
Disagreement						
Disagree	2.3	0.9	---	7.5	9.7	1.8
Strongly disagree	0.4	0.2	---	1.8	2.3	0.6
TOTAL	2.7	1.1	---	9.3	12.0	2.4
Don't know	---	---	---	3.5	4.8	---
No answer	0.8	0.5	3.1	---	---	---

"Knowing the Right People."

Statement: "On most jobs you don't get ahead by working hard, you get ahead by knowing the right people."

This statement was designed as one measure of

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alienation from work, since success is not a result of industry, talent, or perserverance. Surprisingly, there were no substantial differences among the various samples, and very few respondents strongly agreed or disagreed with the statement.

Table 73

PERCENTAGES OF RESPONDENTS AGREEING/DISAGREEING WITH THE STATEMENT: "ON MOST JOBS...YOU GET AHEAD BY KNOWING THE RIGHT PEOPLE."

	Cardinal Hayes	Fordham	Howard	N.Y.C. Ghetto Groups		
				Total	JOIN	HARYOU
100% =	260	422	196	601	434	167
Agreement	%	%	%	%	%	%
Strongly agree	13.1	5.6	14.3	8.8	10.8	3.6
Agree	32.2	37.8	38.8	38.6	41.2	31.7
TOTAL	45.3	43.4	53.1	47.4	52.0	35.3
Disagreement						
Disagree	41.9	48.4	37.8	42.6	37.8	55.1
Strongly disagree	10.0	5.2	5.1	5.8	6.2	4.8
TOTAL	51.9	53.6	42.9	48.4	44.0	59.9
Don't know	2.3	1.1	---	4.2	3.9	4.8
No answer	0.4	1.8	4.1	---	---	---

Future Expectations

Statement: "I expect that during their lives my children will be able to have better jobs than I will."

The statement contains 2 dimensions. The first is a measure of social optimism or future expectations. But, secondly, its statement may measure the socioeconomic level of respondents. Respondents who perceive themselves at the top of the social hierarchy may find it difficult to imagine their children doing better than they have done, respondents at the bottom may well imagine their children doing better than themselves without necessarily believing that their children will do well.

The Howard, Cardinal Hayes and HARYOU-Act samples produced the highest levels of agreement (90 percent to 95 percent). The Fordham University and JOIN samples, while producing levels of agreement at the 80 percent level, were substantially and significantly lower than the other three.

While the Fordham, Howard University and JOIN levels are almost identical, it is possible that those who disagreed in the JOIN group were pessimistic about their children's chances, and that those who disagreed in the Fordham sample felt that they were doing so well that their children would not surpass them. (Results are detailed in Table 74, page 161.)

Other Economic Attitudes

The value of work versus money without work. Respondents were asked: "Supposing that somebody just gave you the money you needed every week; would you like this better than working for your money or would you rather be working?" Between 72 percent and 76 percent of each group, except the JOIN respondents, said they would rather be working. Eighty-six percent of the JOIN sample preferred working.

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Table 74

PERCENTAGES OF RESPONDENTS AGREEING/DISAGREEING WITH THE STATEMENT: "I EXPECT THAT...MY CHILDREN WILL BE ABLE TO HAVE BETTER JOBS THAN I WILL."

	Cardinal Hayes	Fordham	Howard	N.Y.C. Ghetto Groups		
				Total	JOIN	HARYOU
100% =	260	422	196	601	434	167
Agreement	%	%	%	%	%	%
Strongly agree	33.8	16.1	50.0	15.8	16.6	13.8
Agree	56.5	62.9	42.9	68.6	64.1	80.2
TOTAL	90.3	79.0	92.9	84.4	80.7	94.0
Disagreement						
Disagree	5.8	16.1	1.5	10.6	13.1	4.2
Strongly disagree	0.4	0.7	1.5	2.7	3.2	1.2
TOTAL	6.2	16.8	3.0	13.3	16.3	5.4
Don't know	1.9	1.1	---	2.3	3.0	0.6
No answer	1.5	3.2	4.1	---	---	---

To state it differently, only 6 percent of the JOIN sample said they would rather be given the money, as compared with 20 to 26 percent levels in the other samples. (See Table 75, page 162.)

SELF-IMAGES AS WORKERS

Chances for Getting a Job in a Competitive Situation

Statement: "Suppose a job opening occurred for which 5 men would be hired. It's a job in which you are interested and qualified. Suppose that 25 men from around the city were called in to be interviewed, and suppose that you were one of these 25 prospects. What would you think of your

Table 75

PREFERENCE BETWEEN WORKING AND RECEIVING MONEY WITHOUT WORKING

	Cardinal Hayes	Fordham	Howard	N.Y.C. Ghetto Groups		
				Total	JOIN	HARYOU
100% =	260	422	196	601	434	167
Preference	%	%	%	%	%	%
Rather work	72.3	72.8	76.0	82.0	85.7	72.5
Rather receive money	26.2	25.3	19.4	11.1	5.8	25.2
Don't know	---	0.5	1.0	4.7	6.5	---
No answer	1.5	1.4	3.6	2.2	2.1	2.4

chance of being hired? Would you say it would be very good, about average, or not very good?"

The range of response saying either "very good" or "about average" was from 86 percent to 96 percent. The 2 Negro youth groups ranked lowest among all 5 groups. The percentage saying that their chances would be "very good" ranged from a low of 24 percent (HARYOU-Act) to a high of 48 percent (Fordham). However, the percentage of the JOIN sample saying "very good" was substantially as high (32 percent) as that in the Cardinal Hayes (30 percent) or Howard University (29 percent) samples. (See Table 76, page 163.)

How Respondents Would Expect to Get Along With the Boss

Statement: "Now, suppose you were one of the 5 men who were hired for the job. Compared to the other 4 men who were hired, how would you expect to get along with the boss? Would you say very well, about average, or not very well?"

Table 76

PERCENTAGES OF RESPONDENTS ESTIMATING
THEIR CHANCE OF GETTING A JOB

	Cardinal Hayes	Fordham	Howard	N.Y.C. Ghetto Groups Total	JOIN	HARYOU
100% =	260	422	196	601	434	167
Chance Is:	%	%	%	%	%	%
Very good	30.0	48.4	28.6	29.6	31.8	24.0
Average	62.3	47.1	64.3	56.9	54.8	62.3
TOTAL	92.3	95.5	92.9	86.5	86.6	86.3
Not very good	7.3	3.4	5.6	9.5	8.8	11.4
Don't know/ no answer	0.4	1.1	1.5	4.0	4.6	2.4

All samples except the JOIN respondents produced responses of "very well" or "about average" at levels of 97 percent or better. The JOIN group produced a level of 90 percent. The JOIN sample produced slightly lower percentages than did most other samples in either the "very well" or "average" responses or both. (See Table 77, page 164.)

Respondent's Self-evaluation as "Hard-working"

Statement: "Do you think you work harder than others, about the same, or not so hard?"

A lower percentage of both New York Negro respondents, especially the HARYOU-Act group, said they worked harder than did those of the other three groups, but a higher percentage said they worked as hard as others. There were no differences among the 5 groups in the percentages saying they worked not as hard as others. (See Table 78, page 164.)

Table 77

PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS SAYING HOW THEY WOULD GET ALONG WITH BOSS

	Cardinal Hayes	Fordham	Howard	N.Y.C. Ghetto Groups		
				Total	JOIN	HARYOU
100% =	260	422	196	601	434	167
Would Get Along	%	%	%	%	%	%
Very well	36.9	43.0	48.5	44.6	42.6	49.7
About average	60.4	54.1	49.5	47.9	47.7	48.5
TOTAL	97.3	97.1	98.0	92.5	90.3	98.2
Not very well	2.3	1.8	0.5	4.0	5.5	---
Don't know/ no answer	0.4	1.1	1.5	3.5	4.1	1.8

Table 78

PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS INDICATING HOW HARD THEY WORKED IN COMPARISON WITH OTHERS

	Cardinal Hayes	Fordham	Howard	N.Y.C. Ghetto Groups		
				Total	JOIN	HARYOU
100% =	260	422	196	601	434	167
Respondent Works:	%	%	%	%	%	%
Harder	38.1	43.2	35.2	28.1	31.1	20.4
About the same	54.6	46.8	56.1	61.9	58.1	71.9
Not so hard	6.2	8.6	6.6	6.2	6.2	6.0
Don't know	0.4	0.5	---	3.8	4.6	1.8
No answer	0.8	0.9	2.0	---	---	---

Respondent's Self-evaluation as "Fast Learner"

Statement: "Do you think you can learn new things on a job faster than others?"

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The 2 New York Negro respondent groups (35 percent in total) produced lower percentages of respondents who said they learned faster than did the other 3 groups. The Howard sample produced a lower percentage of "faster" response than did the 2 white samples, and the race and educational level jointly appear to determine this self-evaluation, with race being crucial.

Table 79

PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS INDICATING HOW FAST THEY LEARN

	Cardinal Hayes	Fordham	Howard	N.Y.C. Ghetto Groups Total	N.Y.C. Ghetto Groups JOIN	N.Y.C. Ghetto Groups HARYOU
100% =	260	422	196	601	434	167
Respondent Learns:	%	%	%	%	%	%
Faster	48.5	51.6	42.3	34.9	35.7	32.9
About the same	47.3	43.9	54.1	54.1	51.6	60.5
Not so fast	3.5	3.4	1.5	6.7	7.4	4.8
Don't know	0.4	0.2	---	4.3	5.3	1.8
No answer	0.4	0.9	2.0	---	---	---

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Chapter IX

RESPONDENTS' SELF-ESTEEM

A major variable possibly relating to the work aspirations and motivations of respondents is their self-esteem. Hypothetically, individuals with low self-esteem are less willing to aspire to occupational training or mobility since they estimate that their chances of success are low. Moreover, they are more likely to be discouraged if and when obstacles to success are perceived, and they are more likely to perceive such obstacles.

In addition, the history of ghettoization, discrimination, segregation, and impaired family structure, symbolized by the absence of males in the family and by the low occupational achievement of available males, may contribute to low self-esteem among Negro males.

Later phases of this study are designed to test the relationship between self-esteem and socioeconomic background of respondents, the consequences for their work orientation, and the reciprocal effects of self-esteem on job success and training. The measures of self-esteem used are items from the Rosenberg Self-esteem Scale. Respondents were asked if they strongly agreed, agreed, disagreed, or strongly disagreed with each of the following statements:

On the whole, I am satisfied with myself.

At times I think I am no good at all.

I feel that I have a number of good qualities.

I am able to do things as well as most other people.

I feel I do not have much to be proud of.

I certainly feel useless at times.

I feel that I am a person of worth, at least on an equal plane with others.

I wish I could have more respect for myself.

All in all, I am inclined to feel that I am a failure.

In order to interpret the response to these items, comparative data was developed from the student groups in Cardinal Hayes High School, Fordham, and Howard University previously described in Chapter VIII. In addition, comparable data were provided by M. Rosenberg from his sample of 3346 New York State high-school juniors and seniors.*

OVER-ALL RESULTS

On all nine items, one or more of the three Negro groups produced a measure of lower self-esteem than did any white group. One item produced measures of considerably lower self-esteem for all three Negro groups than for any of the white groups. The item was: "On the whole I am satisfied with myself." The specific results follow in Table 80.

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* This sample represented three-fourths of the total sample of Rosenberg's study reported in _Society and the Adolescent Self-image_.

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Table 80

EXTENT OF AGREEMENT WITH STATEMENT:
"ON THE WHOLE I AM SATISFIED WITH MYSELF"*

	Agree %	Disagree %
New York State	66.9	31.7
Cardinal Hayes	66.5	33.1
Fordham University	70.4	29.4
Howard University	55.1	43.8
JOIN	51.4	37.8
HARYOU-Act	50.9	47.9

---

* Don't know/no answers are not presented.

On four of the nine statements, both New York Negro groups produced measures of self-esteem that were significantly lower than the other four groups; and on all of these items, the JOIN groups produced measures of self-esteem that were significantly lower than the HARYOU-Act group.

Table 81

PERCENTAGE OF AGREEMENT WITH EACH STATEMENT

1. "I feel I have a number of good qualities."*

	Agree	Disagree
New York State	91.3	6.8
Cardinal Hayes	96.1	3.8
Fordham University	98.8	1.1
Howard University	95.9	4.1
JOIN	70.0	22.6
HARYOU-Act	90.4	7.8

Table 81 (Con't)

PERCENTAGE OF AGREEMENT WITH EACH STATEMENT

2. "I feel that I am a person of worth, at least on an equal plane with others."

	Agree	Disagree
New York State	92.4	4.9
Cardinal Hayes	95.8	3.9
Fordham University	97.0	2.5
Howard University	95.4	4.5
JOIN	76.5	20.2
HARYOU-Act	86.2	10.2

3. "All in all, I am inclined to feel that I am a failure."*

	Agree	Disagree
New York State	8.1	89.8
Cardinal Hayes	6.9	92.7
Fordham University	4.6	95.0
Howard University	9.7	89.8
JOIN	45.0	50.7
HARYOU-Act	21.6	77.9

4. "I feel I do not have much to be proud of."*

	Agree	Disagree
New York State	12.5	85.8
Cardinal Hayes	13.9	85.8
Fordham University	11.1	88.5
Howard University	15.2	83.2
JOIN	44.5	51.4
HARYOU-Act	25.2	73.1

---

* Dont' know/no answers are not presented.

On two of three items, the JOIN group produced low measures of self-esteem while the HARYOU-Act group produced ratings that were either average or above average among the six samples. On a third the JOIN group produced an average measure, though lower than the HARYOU-Act measure. The three items were as follows:

Table 82

EXTENT OF AGREEMENT WITH EACH STATEMENT

1. "I certainly feel useless at times."*

	Agree	Disagree
New York State	52.3	45.7
Cardinal Hayes	55.8	43.9
Fordham University	51.6	47.7
Howard University	53.0	45.9
JOIN	59.7	37.3
HARYOU-Act	55.1	43.7

2. "I am able to do things as well as most people."*

	Agree	Disagree
New York State	87.7	10.6
Cardinal Hayes	95.8	3.8
Fordham University	94.1	5.0
Howard University	92.9	6.6
JOIN	75.1	19.9
HARYOU-Act	89.8	9.6

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Table 82 (Con't)

EXTENT OF AGREEMENT WITH EACH STATEMENT

3. "I wish I could have more respect for myself."*

	Agree	Disagree
New York State	35.0	61.0
Cardinal Hayes	48.5	49.2
Fordham University	35.7	62.7
Howard University	50.0	48.5
JOIN	61.3	34.8
HARYOU-Act	44.9	54.5

---

*Don't know/no answers are not presented.

On one item the HARYOU-Act group produced higher measures of self-esteem than any other sample. That item was: "At times I think I am no good at all."

Table 83

EXTENT OF AGREEMENT WITH STATEMENT: "AT TIMES I THINK I AM NO GOOD AT ALL"*

	Agree	Disagree
New York State	53.6	44.9
Cardinal Hayes	48.5	51.6
Fordham University	40.5	59.5
Howard University	47.4	52.4
JOIN	50.7	41.3
HARYOU-Act	35.3	64.1

---

*Don't know/no answers are not presented.

In the above analysis, the JOIN group produced below-average measures of self-esteem on eight of nine items. The HARYOU-Act sample produced below-average measures of self-esteem on four items, average measures on four items, and above-average measures on one item. It thus appears that the HARYOU-Act group on all items in total produces lower than average measures of self-esteem.

SELF-ESTEEM AS A GENERALIZED QUALITY: A SUMMARY MEASURE

The above data deals only with a comparison of each group for each of nine items. It suggests, but does not indicate conclusively, the number of respondents in each group who are deficient in self-esteem as a generalized quality. The nine self-esteem items can be, and in fact are, intended to measure self-esteem as a generalized quality, and to identify individuals who are deficient in this quality.

Each item represents a single measure of self-esteem if an individual agrees or strongly agrees with a statement that manifestly expressed self-esteem, i.e., "I feel that I am a person of worth..." or disagrees or strongly disagrees with a statement that manifestly expresses low self-esteem, i.e., "I am inclined to feel that I am a failure..." Each such statement is scored with a self-esteem score of one. Thus, an individual rating himself positively on all nine items can have a maximum self-esteem score of nine.

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If an individual votes himself as disagreeing or strongly disagreeing with a favorable item, or as agreeing or strongly agreeing with an unfavorable item, or indicates "don't know," he is rated as having a self-esteem score of zero for that item. Thus, the lowest possible score for an individual on the nine-item scale is zero.

In order to provide a framework of comparison, each respondent in five groups (all except those in the Rosenberg study) was so scored, and a grand average score for each group was computed. In order to neutralize the effect of different group sizes (434 for JOIN and 196 for Howard University, for example) each group was weighted so that it contributed an equal number of cases. On the basis of this procedure, the distribution of self-esteem scores for all five samples was as follows on Table 84, page 174.

The median self-esteem score for all five samples combined was 6; i.e., 47 percent of the total of all five samples had self-esteem scores of 6 or less. However, 79 percent of the JOIN group had self-esteem scores of 6 or less. Forty-seven percent of the HARYOU-Act group had self-esteem scores of 6 or less. This was not different from the total of all five groups, but it was lower than all groups other than the JOIN group, and substantially lower than that of the Cardinal Hayes (38 percent) and Fordham University (31 percent) groups.

The three Negro groups each had lower self-esteem scores than did the two white groups. Within each racial

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Table 84

PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS IN ALL SAMPLES MAKING EACH NUMBER OF FAVORABLE CHOICES

Number of Choices	%
0	.3
1	1.1
2	2.9
3	4.9
4	8.5
5	11.9
6	17.5
7	22.2
8	17.8
9	12.9
Median score	6.1
Mean score	6.3

group, education (and all the other factors summarized by that factor) was decisive in determining the percentage having lower than average or higher than average self-esteem. Details are found in Table 85, page 175.

EXTREME SCORES OF HIGH AND LOW SELF-ESTEEM SCORES IN EACH GROUP

In order to ascertain more precisely the percentage in each group who had very high and very low self-esteem scores, the distribution for all five groups combined was divided into tertiles. The lowest tertile* (29 percent) had a score

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*The dividing points chosen were 5 or less, and 7 or more rather than the precise tertile points 5.22 and 6.88 percent.

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Table 85

PERCENTAGE OF EACH GROUP HAVING SUMMARY SELF-ESTEEM SCORES LESS THAN THE MEDIAN FOR ALL FIVE GROUPS

	Less	More
Total sample*	47.1	52.9
JOIN	78.8	21.2
HARYOU-Act	46.7	53.3
Howard University	41.3	58.7
Cardinal Hayes	37.7	62.3
Fordham University	31.4	68.6

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* The dividing point chosen is a score of 6 or less, rather than the true median of 6.13.

of 5 or less and the highest tertile (31 percent) had a scor of 7 or more. The relations suggested by examining the percentages about the grand median were reinforced by examining the percentages about the tertile points.

Sixty-six percent of the JOIN group were in the lowest tertile. Thirty percent of HARYOU-Act youth were in that tertile, a percentage that is not significantly different from the tertile for all five groups. Since, however, the JOIN group contributed 55 percent of all those in that tertile, the JOIN group tended to depress the tertile measur so much that HARYOU-Act scores seemed high in comparison. The percentage of HARYOU-Act respondents in the lowest tertile was markedly larger than the percentages in the Howa University (22 percent), Cardinal Hayes (17 percent), and Fordham University (15 percent) groups.

The two white groups had smaller percentages of respondents in the lowest tertiles; and within that racial group, educational level was important. The Howard University clas had a significantly smaller percentage of respondents in the lowest tertile than did the other two Negro groups. Conversely, the same factors and general patterns applied to percentages of respondents in the highest tertile.

Only 11 percent of the JOIN group was in the highest tertile (a self-esteem score of 7 or more). While the HARYO Act group produced a percentage of 26 percent in that group, its level was lower than the average for all groups (31 percent) and for all other groups than the JOIN group. The percentage of the Howard University group in the highest tertile (33 percent) was substantially higher than that of the HARYOU-Act group, but smaller than the Cardinal Hayes (37 percent) and the Fordham University group (48 percent). Results are detailed below.

Table 86

PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS IN EACH SAMPLE
WHOSE SELF-ESTEEM SCORES ARE IN THE:

	Lowest Third	Middle Third	Highest Thir
	%	%	%
All samples	29.5	39.8	30.7
JOIN	65.7	23.7	10.6
HARYOU-Act	29.3	45.0	25.7
Howard University	21.9	45.4	32.7
Fordham University	14.5	37.7	47.7
Cardinal Hayes	16.9	46.6	36.5

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A SUMMARY OF THE SELF-ESTEEM SCORES

The collapsing of the nine self-esteem items into one summary score seems to provide a useful measure of the respondents' over-all self-esteem, taken as a general qual The summary score of self-esteem as here measured varies education and racial group, and this applies for both the extremely high and low self-esteem, as well as for those about the mean.

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Chapter X

Part 1

FACTORS ASSOCIATED WITH WORK ATTITUDES

A scale was constructed to measure more precisely factors leading to and resulting from positive attitudes toward work. The items used to construct the scale were selected from questions on work attitudes reported in Chapter VIII that seemed to indicate a positive attitude toward work. The items used and the response deemed favorable to work were as follows:

> Work has no dignity, in my experience (disagree).
>
> Work is the only way to survive in this world (agree).
>
> You don't have to work at a job you don't like; you can always go on relief (disagree).
>
> So long as I earn enough to live decently, I don't care too much what kind of work I do (disagree).
>
> On most jobs you don't get ahead by working hard; you get ahead by knowing the right people (disagree).
>
> Even on a job you don't like, you can learn some things you wouldn't learn otherwise (agree).

The scale at this time has only face validity. Additional work would be required to determine its orthogonality, reproducibility, the weights to be attached to individual items, and the size of the intervals. Nevertheless, as we shall see, the use of the six items as a scale appears to order and predict the response to large numbers of other questions. The six items taken together produces a

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distribution of responses among our group of New York Negro youth as follows:

Table 87

PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS WHO INDICATE EACH NUMBER OF RESPONSES SUGGESTIVE OF FAVORABLE WORK ATTITUDES

Number of Responses	Total Respondents 601 = 100%
0	0.3
1	3.7
2	16.3
3	22.1
4	23.5
5	23.6
6	10.5
Median	4.31

The median number of positive items scored by respondents was 4.3. In the following analysis, this distribution will be collapsed into a three-part distribution with respondents classified as above average, average, and below average in positive work attitudes. The classifications are:

Table 88

Classification	# of Positive Items	# of Positive Responses	% of Total Sample
		(601=100%)	
Above average	5 or 6	205	34.1
Average	3 or 4	274	45.6
Below average	2 or less	122	20.3

WORK ATTITUDE AND SELF-ESTEEM

A preliminary indication of the validity of the scale is the relationship of self-esteem and a favorable attitude toward work..

Favorable attitudes toward work were directly related to self-esteem. Fifty-four percent of respondents with above average self-image scores had above average work-attitude scores, and only 5 percent of those with above average self-images had below average work-attitude scores. Conversely, only 15 percent of those with below average self-image scores had above average work-attitude scores and 31 percent of those with below average self-images had below average work-attitude scores. Details are as follows:

Table 89

SELF-ESTEEM SCORES

Work Attitude Score	Totals 601=100%	Below Average 118=100%	Average 302=100%	Above Average 181=100%
	%	%	%	%
Below average	20.3	30.5	25.5	5.0
Average	45.6	54.2	44.7	41.4
Above average	34.1	15.3	29.8	53.6

$X^2 = 67.16$

$P < = .001$

PLACE OF BIRTH AND WORK ATTITUDE SCORES

Respondents born in New York City tended to have somewhat better work-attitude scores than those born outside New York City. Sixty-two percent of the above average respondents were born in New York City as compared with 48 percent of the below average respondents. To state it differently, 38 percent of all respondents born in New York City had above average work-attitude scores as compared to 29 percent among those not born in New York City.

Localities of less than 10,000 produced substantially lower percentages of above average respondents, while larger localities produced substantially higher percentages of above average respondents.

Table 90

WORK ATTITUDE SCORES AND POPULATION OF RESPONDENTS' PLACE OF BIRTH

Work Attitude Scale		City Size				
	Total*	2,500 or less	2,500-10,000	10,000-100,000	100,000 plus	N.Y.C.
100% =	601	74	46	72	50	335
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Below average	20.3	24.3	21.7	25.0	30.0	17.6
Average	45.6	48.7	60.9	40.3	40.0	44.2
Above average	34.1	27.0	17.4	34.7	30.0	38.2

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* Table does not include 24 respondents who did not provide complete data on place of birth.

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Since the smaller localities were primarily in the South, one can speculate that the work attitudes developed primarily in a rural South are less positive than those in the urban North.

FAMILY STRUCTURE

On theoretical grounds, one might expect that an impaired family structure might result in lower than average work attitudes, because of the absence of adult models to project positive work attitudes. There is no evidence, in these data, that respondents from impaired families are any different in their work-attitude scores than respondents from non-impaired families. As indicated below, family type produced a work-attitude profile that did not differ substantially from the work-attitude profile of the total study population.

It appears that the measure of family impairment provided by the structural categories used in this analysis do not explain differences in work attitudes. These categories do not include the quality of family life, or the quality of the relationship between respondents and elders. Moreover, the relatively low level of occupations held by both mothers and fathers may not be sufficient to induce favorable work attitudes, even when both parents are present in the family.

Table 91

WORK ATTITUDE SCORE AND FAMILY STRUCTURE

		Family Structure						
Work Attitude Scores	Total 601=100%	Lives alone or married 82=100%	Both real parents 145=100%	Real mother only 175=100%	1 real parent, 1 foster 31=100%	Real/ foster father only 19=100%	Subtotal 228=100%	No father or mother 146=100%
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Below average	20.3	19.5	20.0	16.6	19.4	26.3	18.0	24.7
Average	45.6	46.3	48.3	48.6	41.9	42.1	46.9	40.4
Above average	34.1	34.1	31.7	34.9	38.7	31.6	35.1	34.9

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AGE AND WORK ATTITUDES

A higher percentage of respondents at the age of 18 (41 percent) than at other ages have positive work attitudes. The percentage having positive work attitudes below that age is substantially smaller. And, after that age the percentage having positive work attitudes declines substantially. Detailed data are as follows:

Table 92

WORK ATTITUDE BY AGE

Work Attitude Scores			Age				
		Total	16	17	18	19	20 & 21
	100%=	601	66	152	141	111	131
		%	%	%	%	%	%
Below average		20.3	21.2	22.4	19.1	14.4	23.7
Average		45.6	51.5	46.1	39.7	46.8	47.3
Above average		34.1	27.3	31.6	41.1	38.7	29.0

Since these percentages rise and decline to and from the peak at 18 years of age, one can speculate that age is not crucial by itself, that changes in the quality of experience associated with age are of importance. These changes include entry into, initial experience, and extended experience of employment and unemployment.

WORK ATTITUDES AND EDUCATION

Positive work attitudes are strongly associated with school leaving. Only 22 percent of those who left school before the completion of the 8th grade had above average work attitudes, while almost 100 percent more (43 percent) of those who completed high school had positive work attitudes. Positive work-attitude scores tended to increase with the amount of schooling at an almost constant rate.

Table 93

WORK ATTITUDE BY SCHOOL GRADE COMPLETED

Work Attitude Scores			Schooling				
		Total	8 & less	9th	10th	11th	12 & up
	100%=	601	45	93	172	149	142
		%	%	%	%	%	%
Below average		20.3	26.7	17.2	22.7	17.4	20.4
Average		45.6	51.1	52.7	47.7	45.6	36.6
Above average		34.1	22.2	30.1	29.7	36.9	43.0

Given these conditions, it is not surprising that school leavers have substantially lower work-attitude scores than do high-school graduates.

Table 94

WORK ATTITUDE SCORES AMONG:

Work Attitude Scores	Total Sample 601=100%		School Leavers 459=100%		High-school graduates 142=100%	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Below average	122	20.3	93	20.3	29	20.4
Average	274	45.6	222	48.4	52	36.6
Above average	205	34.1	144	31.4	61	43.0

However, the results are not unambiguous. They do not prove that school completion necessarily develops positive work attitudes. They suggest alternatively that those individuals who have positive work attitudes are more likely to complete high school.

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LENGTH OF TIME OUT OF SCHOOL

It is reasonable to expect that "normally" one's work attitudes might improve as one gains work experience, and a knowledge of the requirements of work. Our sample of work-seeking, Negro youth with unsteady job histories, high levels and long periods of unemployment, and employment at low level, low paying, and frequently dead-end jobs appear to have job histories that are not "normal." One, therefore, cannot assume that work attitudes improve with age or with experience after leaving high school.

Quite the contrary. The following table indicates that among respondents who left school before completing 12th grade, the percentage with below average work-attitude scores tends to increase with length of time out of school, and the percentage with above average work-attitude scores decreases with time out of school. The experience of being out of school thus tends to erode one's work attitudes and, if work attitude is related to job acquisition and work performance, then finding and maintaining a job is likely to be more difficult for the school drop-out. (See Table 95, page 187.)

WORK EXPERIENCE AND WORK ATTITUDES

While time elapsed since leaving school may affect work attitudes, some of our data enables us to evaluate the quality of this experience. Work experience is a major

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Table 95

WORK ATTITUDE SCORES OF SCHOOL LEAVERS BY AMOUNT OF TIME ELAPSED SINCE LEAVING SCHOOL

Work Attitude Score			Time Since Left School			
		Total	Less than 3 mo.	3-9 mo.	9-18 mo.	18 mo. & up
	100%=	459	119	86	84	170
		%	%	%	%	%
Below average		20.3	15.9	20.9	26.2	20.0
Average		48.4	48.7	46.5	42.8	51.8
Above average		31.4	35.3	32.6	31.0	28.2

component, not only of "time-elapsed," but also of the kind of experience that leads to the formulation of work attitudes.

Table 96 below indicates that respondents who never had a job of any sort (full or part time) had the smallest percentage of respondents among all groups with above average work-attitude scores and among the largest percentage with below average work-attitude scores.

Respondents with a vast number of jobs (6 or more), depending on the length of time working, may include job switchers as well as those who have more work experience. This group contains the largest percentage of individuals with below and above average scores. Respondents with 1 or 2 jobs have generally the best work-attitude profiles (the smallest percent of respondents with below average scores and the largest percent with above average scores).

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Table 96

WORK ATTITUDE SCORE BY NUMBER OF JOBS HELD

Work Attitude Scores		Number of Jobs Held*			
	None	1 or more	1-2	3-5	6 or more
100% =	193	403	235	121	47
	%	%	%	%	%
Below average	23.3	19.1	17.0	21.4	23.4
Average	45.5	44.9	45.5	46.3	38.3
Above average	31.2	36.0	37.5	32.2	38.3

* The table excludes five respondents who did not report the number of jobs held.

Number of Full-time Jobs

The above analysis is based on all jobs, part time and full time. When similar analysis is attempted for full-time jobs only, a similar pattern emerges. The group of those respondents who have never had a full-time job are more likely to include larger percentages with below average work attitudes, and smaller percentages with above average work attitudes. Groups of those respondents who have had one or two full-time jobs contain the most respondents with above average work-attitude scores and the least with below-average scores. Respondents who have had many jobs are likely to consist of large percentages with below average scores and large percentages with above average scores (and smaller percentages with average scores). In short, this group contains apparently two subgroups, job-switchers and experienced workers, who have worked sufficiently long so as to have changed jobs even though their job adjustment was satisfactory. Results are detailed below.

Table 97

WORK ATTITUDE SCORE BY NUMBER OF FULL-TIME JOBS HELD

Work Attitude Score		Number of Full-time Jobs Held*					
		None	1 or more	1	2	3-5	6 & more
	100%=	217	379	134	104	103	38
		%	%	%	%	%	%
Below average		22.6	19.2	18.7	13.5	23.3	26.3
Average		45.6	44.9	43.3	50.0	44.7	36.8
Above average		31.8	35.9	38.0	36.5	32.0	36.8

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* The table excludes five respondents who did not report the number of jobs held.

Length of Time Spent Working

As indicated above, number of jobs is only a crude indicator of work history since it does not take into account the length of time spent on each job, nor the time spent on any one job, nor even the total amount of time spent at work. Thus, a youth with seven jobs may still have spent most of his working career on one job, while a youth with one job may not have spent much time at that job, or, in fact, at any job.

Another indicator of work experience is the length of time spent at full-time work. Table 98 indicates that respondents who have worked for less than a month have the most favorable work attitudes (although the number of respondents in this category is small); and that while the respondents who have worked for a month to 18 months have somewhat more favorable work attitudes than the average for the total sample, they have less favorable ones than a relatively inexperienced group. Respondents with 18 months or more of work experience have a work-attitude profile that is only slightly better than those having none at all.

Table 98

WORK ATTITUDES BY AMOUNT OF TIME AT WORK, AMONG SCHOOL LEAVERS

			Amount of Time Worked				
Number Answering	100% =	No full-time job*	Total	Less than 1 mo.	1-6 mo.	6-18 mo.	18 mo. & up
		158	279	36	100	63	66
Work Attitude		%	%	%	%	%	%
Below average		22.2	19.2	13.8	18.0	15.8	24.2
Average		50.0	44.9	44.4	49.0	50.8	45.4
Above average		27.8	35.9	41.7	33.0	33.3	30.3

Initial work experience does tend to improve work attitude, but an extended amount of time at work appears to reverse the trend. One could speculate that the quality of the work experience, the pay and the perception of opportunity is as important as the fact of work itself. The absence of work may be demoralizing, but inadequate work experience may be only slightly less demoralizing.

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Part 2

SOME CORRELATES OF WORK ATTITUDES

WORRY ABOUT THE FUTURE

Respondents with positive work attitudes are more likely to worry about the future than do respondents with below-average work attitudes. Sixty percent of the respondents with above-average work attitudes "worry a lot" about the future, while only 21 percent of those with below-average scores worry.

Table 99

		Work Attitude Scores		
Worry About the Future:	Total 601=100%	Below Average 122=100%	Average 274=100%	Above Average 205=100%
	%	%	%	%
A lot	42.9	21.3	39.8	60.0
A little	32.8	34.4	36.1	27.3
Hardly, not at all	21.5	34.4	23.0	11.7
Don't know	2.8	9.8	1.1	1.0

It appears that those who have above-average work attitudes are still trying to achieve some level of mobility or some kind of occupational future for themselves and worry about the possibility of achieving it. Those with the below-average work attitudes worry least about the future. For this group, lack of hope in the future tends to depress work attitudes which in circular fashion further justifies a poor attitude toward work. Thus, a sense of

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"surrender" to hopelessness makes adjustment to work difficult and confirms the original surrender.

RETURNING TO SCHOOL BY SCHOOL LEAVERS

The desire to return to school and finish their education is intensely associated with work attitudes. Over three-quarters of respondents who have above-average work-attitude scores said they would like to go back to school, as compared with a 40 percent level among those with below-average scores.

Table 100

Would Like to Go Back to School & Finish Education	Total 459=100%	Work Attitude Scores: Below Average 91=100%	Average 222=100%	Above Average 144=100%
	%	%	%	%
Yes	62.3	39.6	62.2	76.4
No	32.0	58.2	32.0	16.0
Don't know	2.6	1.1	3.2	2.8
Are going to night school	3.1	1.1	2.7	4.9

The emphasis on going back to school may well be another measure of concern about the future and mobility rather than a literal interest in going back to school. It does, however, indicate concern about their future work by a considerable part of the sample.

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JOB ASPIRATIONS

Evidence of such concern is found in ultimate job aspirations of those with above- and below-average work attitudes. More respondents with above-average work attitudes tend to aspire to jobs in the professional, technical and managerial category, while respondents with below-average work attitudes aspire more to the jobs of craftsmen/skilled workers.

Table 101

OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS BY WORK ATTITUDE SCORES

Job Would Like to Have for Rest of Life	Total* 601=100%	Work Attitude Scores Below Average* 122=100%	Average* 274=100%	Above Average* 205=100%
	%	%	%	%
Professional, technical, managerial	33.8	27.9	30.7	41.5
Clerical	12.3	11.5	13.1	11.7
Sales	1.8	1.6	1.5	2.4
Craftsmen/skilled workers	35.8	44.3	38.3	27.3
Operatives	5.3	4.1	5.1	6.3
Service workers	11.5	13.9	10.6	11.2
Laborers	3.3	3.3	3.6	2.9
Don't know/no answer	2.7	0.8	2.9	3.4

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* May exceed 100 percent due to multiple answers.

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SALARY NEEDED IN FIVE YEARS

At the same time, those respondents with above-average work attitudes had substantially more modest (and realistic) estimates of income needs in 5-10 years. Respondents in the above-average group estimated their median needed income as $120, while the below-average group had a median needed income of $167. It thus appears that the below-average group is less worried about the future and is, in comparison to the average and above-average group, more likely to upgrade its needs.

Table 102

SALARY NEEDED IN 5-10 YEARS TO SUPPORT A FAMILY WITH A WIFE AND 2 CHILDREN

		Work Attitude Scores		
Salary Needed	Total 601=100%	Below Average 122=100%	Average 274=100%	Above Average 205=100%
	%	%	%	%
$85 or less	6.3	2.5	7.3	7.3
$86-95	7.2	4.1	8.4	7.3
$96-105	15.6	9.8	15.3	19.5
$106-125	13.6	2.5	16.1	17.1
$126-165	21.5	28.7	19.7	19.5
$166-205	26.5	45.1	24.8	17.6
$206 +	6.2	7.4	5.5	6.3
Don't know/no answer	3.2	---	2.9	5.4
Median	$135	$167	$128	$120

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ESTIMATES OF ACHIEVING THE NEEDED SALARY

While respondents with above-average work attitudes were more modest than "below-average" respondents in their estimates of their future needs, they were more optimistic in their estimates of their chances of getting the needed income. Forty-three percent of the above-average group thought they had a very good chance of securing the needed income as compared with 23 percent of below-average respondents.

Table 103

		Work Attitude Scores		
Chances of Earning Needed Salary 5-10 Years from Now	Total 601=100%	Below Average 122=100%	Average 274=100%	Above Average 205=100%
	%	%	%	%
Very good	32.4	23.0	28.3	42.9
Fairly good	51.7	63.1	51.1	45.9
Not so good	9.7	9.0	13.5	4.9
Don't know/no answer	6.2	4.9	6.6	6.3

It thus appears that respondents with above-average work attitudes are serious about their strivings for mobility and satisfactory jobs; they tend to aim for higher skill-level jobs. Their estimate of their needs are modest; and they think they have a chance to achieve their goals, although they worry about it.

Respondents with below-average work attitudes are less inclined to worry, strive for less, but hope for more, and think they have less chances of achieving their hopes.

The above-average group appears to be motivated by its aspirations. For the below-average group, the aspirations are not accompanied by strong motivation.

REASONS FOR COMING TO THE CENTER BY WORK ATTITUDE

A somewhat larger percentage of respondents with above-average work attitudes said they came to the center primarily for training (24 percent) than did respondents with lower-than-average work attitudes (16 percent); conversely, more respondents with lower-than-average work attitudes reported coming to centers for money (39 percent, versus 31 percent).

Table 104

Reasons for Coming to the Center	Total 601=100%	Work Attitude Scores: Below Average 122=100%	Average 274=100%	Above Average 205=100%
	%	%	%	%
Mostly for money	31.1	39.3	27.7	30.7
Mostly for training	21.8	15.6	22.6	24.4
Both	45.4	45.1	46.7	43.9
Other, don't know	1.7	---	2.9	1.0

The implication that respondents with above-average work-attitude scores were more serious in their attitudes toward work, in general and in their reasons for coming to the center, is not only supported by their greater emphasis on training than on money as a reason for coming to the center; but their seriousness can be inferred from the amount of pay expected for either work or training.

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In the group as a whole, respondents with above-average work-attitude scores expected a median of $51 per week. Respondents with below-average work-attitude scores expected a median of $57 per week.

In a similar sense, whatever the reasons for coming to the center, among those who had above-average work-attitude scores, the expected median weekly reimbursement was lower than that for "below-average" respondents.

In short, respondents with above-average work-attitude scores appeared to be willing to sacrifice immediate rewards for the opportunity to gain meaningful work or training. They thus appeared to be more amenable to meaningful work and training programs consistent with their long-term work and mobility aspirations as measured by their responses to questions concerning their work aspirations. Details concerning the salaries expected by each group are presented in Tables 105 to 108 following.

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Table 105

SALARY EXPECTATIONS: ALL RESPONDENTS

		Work Attitude Scores		
Amount Expected	Total* 591=100%	Below Average 122=100%	Average 266=100%	Above Average 203=100%
	%	%	%	%
Do not expect salary	6.3	3.3	7.9	5.9
Less than $35 per week	10.8	3.3	10.9	15.3
$36-45	7.8	4.1	6.8	11.3
$46-55	17.4	18.0	19.5	14.3
$56-65	17.3	14.8	18.8	16.7
$66-85	24.2	42.6	23.7	13.8
$86 +	4.7	9.0	4.1	3.0
Don't know	11.5	4.9	8.3	19.7
1st quartile	$42	$48	$42	$38
Median	$56	$57	$55	$51
3rd quartile	$71	$78	$69	$63

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* Table excludes 10 respondents who came to the center for "other reasons."

Table 106

SALARY EXPECTATIONS:
RESPONDENTS WHO CAME TO THE CENTER FOR WORK ONLY

		Work Attitude Scores		
Amount Expected	Total 187=100%	Below Average 48=100%	Average 76=100%	Above Average 63=100%
	%	%	%	%
Less than $35 per week	1.6	2.1	1.3	1.6
$36-45	7.5	4.2	5.3	12.7
$46-55	17.6	16.7	19.7	15.9
$56-65	26.2	22.9	26.3	28.6
$66-85	34.2	41.7	39.5	22.2
$86 +	4.8	6.2	3.9	4.8
Don't know	8.0	6.2	3.9	14.3
1st quartile	$53	$55	$53	$50
Median	$63	$65	$63	$59
3rd quartile	$75	$77	$74	$70

Table 107

SALARY EXPECTATIONS:
RESPONDENTS WHO CAME TO THE CENTER FOR TRAINING

		Work Attitude Scores		
Amount Expected	Total 131=100%	Below Average 19=100%	Average 62=100%	Above Average 50=100%
	%	%	%	%
Do not expect salary	28.2	21.0	33.9	24.0
Less than $35	25.2	5.3	24.2	34.0
$36-45	9.9	10.5	9.7	10.0
$46-55	9.9	21.0	8.1	8.0
$56-65	8.4	15.8	9.7	4.0
$66-85	9.2	26.3	9.7	2.0
Don't know	9.2	---	4.8	18.0
Median	Less than $35	$53	Less than $35	

Table 108

SALARY EXPECTATIONS: RESPONDENTS WHO CAME TO THE CENTER FOR BOTH WORK AND TRAINING

		Work Attitude Scores		
Amount Expected	Total 273=100%	Below Average 55=100%	Average 128=100%	Above Average 90=100%
	%	%	%	%
Less than $35 per week	10.3	3.6	10.2	14.4
$36-45	7.0	1.8	6.3	11.1
$46-55	20.9	18.2	25.0	16.7
$56-65	15.4	7.3	18.8	15.6
$66-85	24.5	49.1	21.1	14.4
$86 +	7.0	14.5	6.3	3.3
Don't know/no answer	15.0	5.6	12.4	24.4
1st quartile	$47	$55	$47	$39
Median	$58	$68	$56	$52
3rd quartile	$69	$73	$68	$64

Chapter XI

Part 1

FACTORS ASSOCIATED WITH SELF-ESTEEM

Our previous analysis, Chapter X, has indicated that self-esteem may be a critical factor determining the personal, social and work attitudes and orientations of young Negro youth. Respondents with low self-esteem may be both unwilling to aspire to work and training, unable to cope with normal difficulties, problems, and frustrations involved in work and training, and unable, therefore, to hold a job. Moreover, if low self-esteem is productive of these attitudes and orientations, then its consequence both in terms of training and job experiences is likely to reinforce the initial attitudes which are the causes of the difficulties.

We have previously found: (1) that work-seeking Negro youths, as a group, possess lower self-esteem than white and Negro middle-class youths; (2) that Negro youths in Brooklyn, as a group, have less self-esteem than youths in Harlem; and (3) that self-esteem is directly related to work attitudes. Respondents deficient in self-esteem tend to have less positive work attitudes than respondents who, in our sample, have above-average self-esteem.

This chapter will explore, among the New York Negro respondents, some of the factors which hypothetically may be sources of self-esteem, the relationship between self-esteem and economic attitudes, and the relationship between self-esteem and the decision to seek work and training at the center.

PLACE OF BIRTH

Self-esteem is directly related to place of birth, although the relationship is not a strong one. Thirty-six percent of respondents born in New York City had above-average self-esteem as compared with 23 percent of those not born in New York City. Conversely, only 18 percent of the respondents born in New York had below-average self-esteem as compared with 22 percent of those not born in New York.

Respondents born in localities of 2,500 and less produced substantially smaller percentages of "above-average respondents" as did respondents born in towns of 2,500-25,000. Those born in towns of 25,000-100,000, while not producing substantially larger percentages of "above-average" respondents than the total sample, produced smaller percentages of "below-average" respondents than did the total group or localities of smaller than 100,000. Cities in the population range of 100,000-1,000,000 produced a profile of self-esteem that is almost identical with the profile of the total group. Cities of over 1,000,000 produced the largest percentage of above-average respondents. These percentages were, in fact, more than double the levels produced by localities of less than 2,500 (which we have indicated are primarily in the South). This category was made up primarily of New York-born respondents. It thus appears that the urban environment is relatively conducive to self-esteem, and a rural environment is not. Detailed results follow.

Table 109

SELF-ESTEEM BY CITY SIZE OF RESPONDENTS' PLACE OF BIRTH

	City		
Self-esteem Score	Total Sample 601=100%	N.Y.C. 335=100%	Not N.Y.C. 266=100%
	%	%	%
Below average	19.6	17.6	22.1
Average	50.2	46.5	54.9
Above average	30.1	35.8	22.9

	City Size				
Self-esteem Score	Under 2,500	2,500-25,000	25,000-100,000	100,000-1 million	1 million and up
100% =	74	74	44	41	344
	%	%	%	%	%
Below average	25.6	24.3	15.9	19.5	17.4
Average	59.5	52.7	52.3	51.2	46.8
Above average	14.9	23.0	31.8	29.3	35.8

SELF-ESTEEM BY PARENTS PLACE OF BIRTH

The parents' place of birth is related to their children's self-esteem score. Mothers or fathers who were born in small towns produced the largest percentages of below-average respondents and generally the smallest percentage of above-average respondents. It thus appears that deficiences in social and cultural background are transmitted by parents and are difficult to correct in one generation.

Table 110

SELF-ESTEEM SCORES BY POPULATION SIZE OF FATHERS' PLACE OF BIRTH

		Population Size					
	Total	Under 2,500	2,500-25,000	25,000-100,000	100,000 to one million	One million and up	Don't know/no answer
100% =	601	98	91	76	26	76	234
Self-esteem Score	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Below average	19.6	23.5	22.0	15.8	19.2	19.7	18.4
Average	50.2	53.1	48.4	48.7	57.7	48.7	50.0
Above average	30.1	23.5	29.7	35.5	23.1	31.6	31.6

SELF-ESTEEM SCORES BY POPULATION SIZE OF MOTHERS' PLACE OF BIRTH

100% =	601	104	115	65	61	77	179
Below average	19.6	26.0	20.9	16.9	18.0	14.3	19.0
Average	50.2	49.0	52.2	53.8	44.3	58.4	46.9
Above average	30.1	25.0	27.0	29.2	37.7	27.3	34.1

SELF-ESTEEM AND FAMILY STRUCTURE

As indicated in the previous chapter, family structure and early childhood experiences are hypothetically related to self-esteem. Families with impaired structures hypothetically are likely to produce impaired individuals, deficient in self-esteem. The data gathered in this study enable us to test these hypotheses, though as we have noted in Chapter X, the tests may be too crude to provide definitive conclusions.

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Table 111 indicates that only two types of families produce substantially different numbers of respondents with above-average self-esteem. Among respondents living alone or married the percentage of above-average respondents was 37 percent as compared with a level of 30 percent in the total group. Among respondents living with a real or foster father but no mother, the percentage of above-average respondents was only 21 percent. However, the number of such respondents is too small to warrant analysis.

In the case of respondents living alone or married, the relatively large percentage of above-average respondents may reflect the fact that these respondents have sufficient self-esteem and psychological strength to leave their homes and live on their own at a relatively early age.

In only one type of family does the percentage of "below-average" respondents exceed that of the total sample (as it does all other family structure types) by a significant degree. Twenty-six percent of respondents living with a real mother and real father have below-average self-esteem, as compared with 20 percent of the total group. The families that are not impaired in structure are the most productive of individuals deficient in self-esteem. Families of respondents living with a real mother only produced the smallest percentage (15 percent) of any family type of below-average respondents. Interestingly, families with miscellaneous elders as heads of family (older brothers, sisters, aunts, uncles, and unrelated elders) do not produce a self-esteem profile that varies from the average of all family types.

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As previously indicated, impairment in family structure may be too crude a measure of the function of the family in producing self-esteem. The quality of the family relationships and personal qualities that parents project to their children may be more important than family structure. Unfortunately, the basic technique of this study precludes such measurement.

Table 111

SELF-ESTEEM BY FAMILY STRUCTURE

Self-esteem Score	100% =	Total 601	Lives alone or married 82	With real mother & father 145	With real mother only 175	Real or foster father only 19	All others 146
		%	%	%	%	%	%
Below average		19.6	15.9	26.2	14.9	15.8	21.2
Average		50.2	47.6	42.8	56.0	63.2	50.2
Above average		30.1	36.6	31.0	29.1	21.1	28.7

SELF-ESTEEM AND EARNED FAMILY INCOME

There appears to be no clear relationship between earned family income, as reported by the respondents, and self-esteem scores.

Table 112

SELF-ESTEEM SCORES BY EARNED FAMILY INCOME (WEEKLY)

Self-esteem Score	100% =	Total 484	None 114	$45-65 59	$66-95 46	$96-145 58	$146+ 61	Don't know 146
Below average		19.8	19.3	20.3	17.4	17.2	11.5	25.3
Average		52.1	54.4	61.0	50.0	50.0	57.4	45.9
Above average		28.1	26.3	18.6	32.6	32.8	31.1	28.8

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AGE AND SELF-ESTEEM SCORES

There is no significant relationship between respondents' age and self-esteem score; such differences as appear must be attributed to chance.

Table 113

SELF-ESTEEM SCORES BY AGE OF RESPONDENT

Self-esteem Scores			Age				
		Total	15	17	18	19	20 & 21
	100% =	601	66	152	141	111	131
		%	%	%	%	%	%
Below average		19.6	24.2	24.3	14.2	21.6	16.0
Average		50.2	47.0	46.7	53.2	50.5	52.7
Above average		30.1	28.8	28.9	32.6	27.9	31.3

EDUCATION AND SELF-ESTEEM

Education level appears to be definitely related to self esteem. The percentage of respondents with above-average self-esteem scores among high-school graduates is over twice the level of respondents who have completed eighth grade or less. The point at which education effects self-esteem is after the completion of the tenth grade. Before that grade, education appears to make little difference, and respondents who complete twelfth grade have only slightly greater self-esteem profiles than those completing eleventh grade. (See Table 114, page 209.)

It is not surprising, then, that school leavers include substantially smaller percentages of above-average respondents than do high-school graduates.

Table 114

EDUCATION AND SELF-ESTEEM

Self-esteem Scores	Total 601	8 & less 45	9th 93	10th 172	11th 149	12th & up 142
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Below average	19.6	26.7	26.9	22.7	16.1	12.7
Average	50.2	55.6	46.2	55.8	47.0	47.9
Above average	30.1	17.8	26.9	21.5	36.9	39.4

Table 115

SELF-ESTEEM SCORES BY SCHOOL COMPLETION

Self-esteem Scores	Total 601=100%	School Leavers 459=100%	H.S. grads 142=100%
	%	%	%
Below average	19.6	21.8	12.7
Average	50.2	51.0	47.9
Above average	30.1	27.2	39.4

Again, we must caution that these data do not necessarily "prove" that education increases self-esteem. On the contrary, they may indicate that respondents with high self-esteem are more likely to remain in school; and those with low self-esteem are more likely to drop out, and that failur may lower self-esteem.

SELF-ESTEEM AND TIME OUT OF SCHOOL

There appears to be no relationship between self-esteem and time elapsed since leaving school. However, among schoo leavers, the percentage of above-average respondents, while relatively large among respondents out of school less than six months, declines sharply among respondents out of school six months or more.

Among high-school graduates, the percentage of above-average respondents increases with time out of school. It must be remembered, however, that high-school graduates have, in addition, much higher self-esteem scores than school leavers. The experience subsequent to leaving school tends to accentuate the differences in self-esteem among the two groups.

Table 116

TIME OUT OF SCHOOL, BY SELF-ESTEEM SCORES

Self-esteem Scores		Total	Less 3 mo.	3-6 mo.	6-12 mo.	12-24 mo.	24 mo. & up
	100% =	601	146	53	136	99	167
A. All Respondents		%	%	%	%	%	%
Below average		19.6	19.3	18.9	23.0	16.2	19.8
Average		50.2	50.7	41.5	50.4	57.6	48.5
Above average		30.1	30.0	39.6	26.7	26.3	31.7
B. School Leavers	100% =	459	119	41	85	80	113
Below average		21.8	17.6	22.0	29.4	18.8	24.8
Average		51.0	52.1	39.0	48.2	57.5	48.7
Above average		27.2	30.3	39.0	22.4	23.7	26.5
C. High School Grads	100%=	142	27	12	51	19	54
Below average		13.1	25.8	*	12.0	5.3	9.3
Average		48.3	45.2	*	54.0	57.9	48.1
Above average		38.6	29.0	*	34.0	36.8	42.6

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* Too small for percentages.

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NUMBER OF FULL-TIME JOBS

Respondents who have never had a full-time job include slightly higher percentages of respondents with low self-esteem than those who have had one or more jobs. Among respondents who have had five to ten full-time jobs, the percentage with above-average self-esteem was slightly higher than for all other categories.

Apart from these minor differences job experience and the number of jobs does not effect self-esteem. Again, it appears that the work experiences of Negro youth are not particularly conducive to the creation and reinforcement of low self-esteem.

Table 117

SELF-ESTEEM SCORES BY NUMBER OF FULL-TIME JOBS HELD

Self-esteem Scores		Total	None	1 or more full-time jobs	1-4 full time jobs	5-10 full time jobs
	100% =	601	217	379	322	81
Below average		19.6	26.4	18.1	17.7	19.8
Average		50.2	43.2	51.4	52.8	45.7
Above average		30.1	30.4	30.5	29.5	34.6

AMOUNT OF TIME SPENT WORKING

Respondents who have never worked include a larger percentage of respondents with below-average self-esteem scores and a smaller percentage with above-average scores than do respondents who have ever worked. But, among those who worked, length of time at work does not appear to effect self-esteem. Thus, while work in general has the effect of confirming feelings of self-esteem and self-worth for a general population, the work and unemployment experience of these respondents has done nothing except confirm the relatively low self-esteem with which they started working.

Table 118

SELF-ESTEEM SCORES BY TIME SPENT WORKING

Self-esteem Scores	Total 601=100%	None 158=100%	Less 3 mos. 165=100%	3-6 mos. 79=100%	6 mos. and up 202=100%
Below average	19.6	25.3	20.0	16.5	16.3
Average	50.2	48.7	49.1	50.6	52.5
Above average	30.1	25.9	30.9	32.9	31.2

Part 2

SOME CORRELATES OF SELF-ESTEEM

WORRY ABOUT THE FUTURE

A substantially larger percentage (50 percent) of above-average respondents than average (44 percent) or below-average (31 percent) respondents worry a lot about the future. Apparently, respondents with higher self-esteem expect more in the future and are not sure that they can attain all they expect of themselves. (See Table 119, page 213.)

RETURNING TO SCHOOL AMONG SCHOOL LEAVERS

A much larger percentage of the above-average group among school leavers said they would like to go back to

Table 119

RESPONDENTS' WORRY ABOUT THE FUTURE, BY SELF-ESTEEM

Worry about the Future	Below Average 118=100%	Average 302=100%	Above Average 181=100%
A lot	30.5	43.7	49.7
A little	39.8	31.8	29.8
Hardly at all, not at all	23.7	21.5	19.9
Don't know, no answer	5.9	3.0	0.6

school and finish their education than did average or below-average respondents.

Again, response to this question may be viewed more as a measure of respondents' awareness and earnestness than of an actual desire to return to school. Lack of desire to go back to school is probably an indication of apathy.

Table 120

SELF-ESTEEM AND DESIRE TO FINISH EDUCATION

Would Like to Go Back and Finish Education	Below Average 100=100%	Average 234=100%	Above Average 125=100%
Yes	51.0	65.0	77.6
No	48.0	32.1	19.2
Don't know	1.0	3.0	3.2

ESTIMATED INCOME NEEDS

Surprisingly enough, respondents with above-average self-esteem estimate their future income needs (in 5-10 years

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when married with two children) at much less ($120 per week median) than respondents with average ($141 per week median) and below-average respondents ($146 per week). The above-average group appears to be more realistic in its estimates of its need than the other group despite greater mobility aspirations.

Table 121

ESTIMATED INCOME NEEDED IN 5-10 YEARS, BY SELF-ESTEEM SCORES

Money Would Need to Support Family	Total 601=100%	Below Average 118=100%	Average 302=100%	Above Average 181=100%
$85 or less	6.3	5.1	5.6	8.3
$86-95	7.2	6.8	6.6	8.3
$96-105	15.6	11.9	16.2	17.1
$106-125	13.6	12.7	11.6	17.7
$126-165	21.5	22.0	22.8	18.8
$166-205	26.5	28.0	31.1	17.7
$206 +	6.2	9.3	4.6	6.6
Don't know/no answer	3.2	4.2	1.4	5.5
Median	$135	$146	$141	$120

OCCUPATION ASPIRATIONS

Confirmation of the more striving attitude of above-average respondents is found in their occupational aspirations. Much larger percentages of the above-average group aspire to professional, technical, and managerial jobs and clerical jobs as their ultimate occupation than do the average and below average respondents. Conversely, large percentages of the below-average and average groups aspired to jobs as craftsmen and service workers.

Table 122

OCCUPATIONAL CHOICE, BY SELF-ESTEEM SCORES

Kind of Job Desired for Rest of Life	Total* 601=100%	Below Average* 118=100%	Average* 302=100%	Above Average* 181=100%
Professional/technical/managerial	33.8	26.3	29.3	46.6
Clerical	12.3	6.8	13.0	15.0
Sales	1.8	2.5	2.3	0.6
Skilled workers/craftsmen	35.8	41.5	36.4	31.6
Operatives	5.3	5.9	5.7	4.4
Service Workers	11.5	12.7	15.4	4.4
Laborers	3.3	3.4	3.3	3.3
Don't know	2.5	3.4	2.7	1.7
No answer	0.2	0.8	---	---

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* May exceed 100 percent due to multiple answers.

DESIRE TO MOVE FROM NEIGHBORHOOD

Larger percentages of respondents with above-average self-esteem expressed a desire to move from their neighborhood than did average and below-average respondents. Again, self-esteem seems to be correlated with higher mobility aspirations.

Table 123

DESIRE TO MOVE FROM NEIGHBORHOOD BY SELF-ESTEEM SCORES

Would Like to Move to Different Neighborhood 5-10 Years from Now	Total 601=100%	Below Average 118=100%	Average 302=100%	Above Average 181=100%
Yes	72.5	63.6	72.8	77.9
No	20.6	28.0	21.5	14.4
Don't know	6.8	8.5	5.6	7.7

REASONS FOR COMING TO THE CENTER

There were no differences between respondents of above-average, below-average, and average self-esteem with regard to their choice between money and training as a reason for coming to the center.

Table 124

REASONS FOR COMING TO CENTER BY SELF-ESTEEM SCORES

Reasons for Coming To Center	Total 601=100%	Below Average 118=100%	Average 302=100%	Above Average 181=100%
Mostly for money	31.1	32.2	31.1	30.4
Mostly for training	21.8	22.9	20.9	22.7
Both	45.4	44.1	46.4	44.8
Other	1.7	0.8	1.7	2.2

However, among respondents who came to centers mostly for money, the median pay expected was substantially more among below-average respondents than it was among average and above-average respondents. Among above-average respondents, the expected pay was the smallest.

Table 125

SALARY EXPECTATIONS AMONG RESPONDENTS WHO CAME TO THE CENTER FOR "MONEY"

Amount Wanted	Total 187=100%	Below Average 38=100%	Average 94=100%	Above Average 55=100%
Less than $35/wk.	1.6	2.6	1.1	1.8
$36-45	7.5	---	8.5	10.9
$46-55	17.6	13.2	16.0	23.6
$56-65	26.2	13.2	29.8	29.1
$66-85	34.2	55.3	33.0	21.8
$86 +	4.8	7.9	3.2	5.5
Don't know	8.0	7.9	8.5	7.3
Median	$62	$71	$62	$58

Among respondents who came mostly for training, the median expected pay is not available for analysis because in all three self-esteem groups the median falls in the "under $35" category, a category too broad to permit precise location of the median. If the third quartile point is used as an indicator of the amount of pay expected for training, we find that three-fourths of above-average respondents expect less than $44 per week, while three-fourths of the below-average group expected as much as $65 per week.

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Table 126

SALARY EXPECTATIONS AMONG RESPONDENTS WHO CAME TO THE CENTER FOR TRAINING

Amount Expected	Total 131=100%	Below Average 27=100%	Average 63=100%	Above Average 41=100%
None	28.2	25.9	28.6	29.3
Less than $35	25.2	22.2	25.4	26.8
$36-45	9.9	7.4	9.5	12.2
$46-55	9.9	11.1	9.5	9.8
$56-65	8.4	3.7	12.7	4.9
$66-85	9.2	22.2	6.3	4.9
$86 +	---	---	---	---
Don't know	9.2	7.4	7.9	12.2
Median	Less than $35.		Less than $35.	
Third quartile	$50	$65	$52	$44

Among respondents who said "came to the center for both money and training," there was no relationship between expected pay and self-esteem. (See Table 127, page 219.)

In total, a slightly smaller percentage of above-average respondents than below-average respondents said that they expected pay was fair; but there were wide differences by reason for coming to the center. Among respondents who came mostly for training, higher percentages of the average and above-average respondents said the pay they expected was fair, despite the fact that these groups expected lower pay. Among respondents who came mostly for money, much

Table 127

SALARY EXPECTATIONS AMONG RESPONDENTS WHO CAME TO THE CENTER FOR BOTH TRAINING AND MONEY

Amount Expected	Total 273=100%	Below Average 52=100%	Average 140=100%	Above Average 81=100%
Less than $35 per week	10.3	7.7	11.4	9.9
$36-45	7.0	7.7	7.1	6.2
$46-55	20.9	28.8	20.0	17.3
$56-65	15.4	11.5	10.7	25.9
$66-85	24.5	30.8	27.9	14.8
$86 +	7.0	5.8	9.3	3.7
Don't know	15.0	7.7	13.6	22.2
Median	$58	$57	$59	$57

higher percentages of the below-average groups and average groups felt the expected pay was fair. Among respondents who came for both money and training, there were no sharp differences in opinion as to the fairness of the pay. (See Table 128, page 220.)

Thus, the above-average group, when interested in training, appeared to expect less money for training and to regard lower pay as fair, while the below-average group expected more money for training yet believed the greater pay to be unfair. The differences in these responses, in the light of previous analysis, seem to be due to the fact that above-average respondents expect more genuine, long-run

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Table 128

FAIRNESS OF EXPECTED PAY

Is the Pay Fair?	Total	Self-esteem Scores Below Average	 Average	 Above Average
		All Respondents		
	530=100%	110=100%	244=100%	176=100%
Yes	76.0	75.5	81.6	68.7
No	18.1	18.2	14.8	22.7
Don't know/no answer	5.8	6.4	3.7	8.5
		Came for Training		
	91-100%	27=100%	40=100%	24=100%
Yes	79.1	63.0	85.0	87.5
No	15.4	33.3	10.0	4.2
Don't know/no answer	5.5	3.7	5.0	8.3
		Came for Money		
	207=100%	35=100%	83=100%	89=100%
Yes	71.0	85.7	79.5	57.3
No	22.2	8.6	16.9	35.5
Don't know/no answer	6.8	5.7	3.6	7.2
		Came for Money and Training		
	232=100%	48=100%	121=100%	63=100%
Yes	79.3	75.0	81.8	77.8
No	15.5	16.7	14.9	15.9
Don't know/no answer	5.2	8.3	3.3	6.3

job training and career benefits from their training, and thus appear to be willing to accept lower pay for training. The below-average group does not appear to expect long-range job and career benefits, is looking for immediate income and work, and feels dissatisfied when the pay is low, even if the work involves training.

RACIAL FACTORS IN EMPLOYMENT

Among respondents with above-average self-esteem, the percentage who believe that it is easier for young Negroes to find jobs than it was a few years ago is double (73 percent) that of the below-average group (36 percent). This is true even when the question refers to people they know personally. Thus, the above-average group is substantially more optimistic than other groups.

Table 129

RESPONDENTS' OPINIONS OF NEGRO YOUTH'S EASE IN GETTING JOBS THESE DAYS AS COMPARED WITH A FEW YEARS AGO, BY SELF-ESTEEM SCORES

Easier?	Total 601=100%	Below Average 118=100%	Average 302=100%	Above Average 181=100%
Yes	52.6	35.6	47.0	72.9
No	31.6	41.5	34.4	20.4
Don't know	15.8	22.9	18.5	6.6
EASE OF NEGRO YOUTHS RESPONDENTS KNOW IN GETTING JOBS THESE DAYS AS COMPARED WITH A FEW YEARS AGO				
Yes	45.1	26.3	42.1	62.4
No	37.4	47.5	39.7	27.1
Don't know	17.5	26.3	18.2	10.5

RESPONDENTS' OPINION OF EFFECT OF PROTESTS, DEMONSTRATIONS, AND CIVIL RIGHTS LEGISLATION VERSUS EDUCATION AND TRAINING

A significantly and substantially larger percentage of above-average respondents believe that protests and demonstrations have helped Negroes get jobs than do below-average respondents. To the extent that the question measures a civil rights or racial equality ideology, the response suggests that young Negroes with high self-esteem support the value of demonstrations and protests more than do young Negroes with low self-esteem. The latter group may be more fatalistic about their chances with or without demonstrations or are less likely to have an opinion.

Table 130

RESPONDENTS' OPINION AS TO WHETHER DEMONSTRATIONS HAVE HELPED OR MADE IT HARDER FOR NEGROES TO GET JOBS, BY SELF-ESTEEM SCORES

		Self-esteem Scores		
Demonstrations Have:	Total 601=100%	Below Average 118=100%	Average 302=100%	Above Average 181=100%
Helped	48.9	33.9	50.7	55.8
Harder	11.0	13.6	10.6	9.9
No difference	23.8	25.4	23.2	23.8
Don't know	16.3	27.1	15.6	10.5

All groups overwhelmingly agreed, however, that education and training are more important than protests and demonstrations in getting jobs for Negroes. To the extent that there are differences by self-esteem, the above-average

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group emphasized education and training more than did the below-average group.

Table 131

THE EFFECTIVENESS OF EDUCATION AND TRAINING VERSUS PROTESTS AND DEMONSTRATIONS IN GETTING JOBS, BY SELF-ESTEEM

Most Effective	Total	Self-esteem Scores		
	601=100%	Below Average 118=100%	Average 302=100%	Above Average 181=100%
Protests and demonstrations	2.7	1.7	4.0	1.1
Education and training	80.2	72.9	80.1	85.1
Both	10.1	14.4	8.6	9.9
Don't know	7.0	11.0	7.3	3.9